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EDITORIAL.

THE conclusion of the second volume of the *Archæological Review* brings with it the termination of a year's work, and the Editor must, in the first place, tender his sincere thanks for the support given to the *Review* by contributors and subscribers. The year's experience has brought about a clearer realisation of the objects of the *Review*, as well as of the best methods of attaining these objects, and it is hoped that in both respects the second year will mark a distinct progress upon the first. Whilst adhering to the guiding principle of the *Review*, namely, to recognise the interdependence of all the manifestations of man's activity in the past, and to employ the same method of critical investigation for all of them, the chief measure of attention will continue to be given to religious, social, and economic archæology. These are branches of the study comparatively neglected in this country, and are represented by no other journal save the *Archæological Review*. Monumental archæology, especially from its aspect as evidence for early institutions, will continue to receive due attention. Celtic antiquities will, as in the past year, receive ample notice, and the *Review* hopes to publish translations of texts hitherto inaccessible to English readers.

The organization of local archæological research, which this *Review* was the first to bring before the public, and the classification of the contents of local museums, are both subjects to which the *Review* will continue to devote particular attention, as the readiest means of elucidating many of the unexplained phenomena in the history of man's handiwork and in the progress of economic history.

The special subjects begun in the first two volumes will be continued in the ensuing year: the Place-name Index of Roman Remains in Britain will proceed with the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, and Dorset; the subject index to the old English drama and the supplemental index of papers contributed to the various Archæological Societies of the United Kingdom will both be carried on. The latter work, one of immense labour and expense, will, when complete, be accompanied by a subject index, thus laying out before the student the whole extent of archæological discovery and research in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years. The Editor trusts that the *Review* will be so supported as to allow of increased instalments of this important work being given with each number.

Among the contributions for the new year may be mentioned a series of papers on the present condition of Archæological Research: namely, Biblical Archæology, by Joseph Jacobs; Classical Archæology, by Cecil Smith; Anthropological Archæology, by Edward Clodd; The Comparative Study of Institutions, by G. L. Gomme; Folklore and Archæology, by Alfred Nutt; American Archæology: Indian Archæology, etc. Among the papers to appear at an early date may be mentioned The Identification of Ancient and Modern Weights, by O. C. Pell; The Rise in the Price of Silver between 1300 and 1500, by Frederic Seebohm; A Fresh Scottish Ashpitel and the Glass Shoes Tale, by Karl Blind; Archæological Work in Eastern Europe, by Arthur J. Evans; Robberies from Fairyland, Elidorus and the Luck of Edenhall, by E. Sidney Hartland; Primitive Residences as a test of Primitive Economy, by G. L. Gomme; The Legend of the Buddhist Alms Dish and the Legend of the Holy Grail, by Alfred Nutt; Rude Stone Monuments of Syria, by Major C. R. Conder; Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland, by Colonel Wood-Martin; Anthropological Notes from Parliamentary Papers; and contributions by Mr. C. J. Elton, Mr. J. H. Round, Mr. George Clinch, Mr. G. E. B. Phillimore, Mr. E. Peacock, Professor J. W. Hales, Dr. Robert Brown, Mr. Talfourd Ely, and others.

In order to add to the practical efficiency of the *Review*, arrangements have been made by which the present Editor will be materially assisted by specialists, and the future editors, while improving the plan of publication in accordance with the past year's experience, will strictly adhere to the principles already laid down.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

Anthropology.

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NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

NO. 5. "LALA," OR FIJIAN SERVICE TENURES.

THE following paper was written for the Government by Mr. Wilkinson, the chief interpreter, a gentleman who is second to none in knowledge of the Fijian people and their customs:—

The custom, or rather institution of "lava"-ing men or labourers and "lavaka"-ing work is, perhaps, from its very comprehensiveness, the most important question that can be considered in connection with native affairs. In some cases it is the thread or chain which runs through Fiji, and connects all its social and political institutions into one body. It is the only custom which changes but little throughout the group. It has existed from time immemorial, was the very bulwark of their mythology, and in one form or other enters into all relationships. It is the indication of what relationships exist between the people and their Chiefs; in fact, it is the keystone of the Chief's government and authority over his people, the channel through which comes his "sinews of war" in times of trouble; and his "ways and means" in times of peace. In other words it is the rent paid by the people for their privileges and the Chief's protection. To deal with it thoroughly in a paper like this would be impossible, because it would simply be a social or domestic history of Fiji. But in order to make the subject as clear as possible to his Excellency, and to describe its character and application generally, it will be best perhaps to confine my remarks to a description of what actually takes place under various circumstances.

1st. The Supreme Chief's Lala, to commence with the necessities of life. As the planting season approaches, the Chief may send word to the Chief or Chiefs of an island, district, or town, "I wish my garden planted by you this year;" or which is equally common, any island, district, or town may send to know the Chief's pleasure, and ask, "may we not plant a garden?" I may remark here that a Chief never exercises the lala (true and proper) over any other than his rightful subjects; not necessarily his own

"Qali" only, but all over whom he holds sovereignty and acknowledged authority. Sometimes gardens are planted without the knowledge of the Chief, and when nearly matured formally presented. While such an act indicates loyalty it is not lala, and is often done with some special object. It having been decided to plant (the Chief sometimes selects the exact plot of ground himself), then comes the different operations of clearing, burning, digging and planting, all of which are duly reported to the Chief, who gives from time to time the necessary orders, and not unfrequently directs the operations in person. In due time the yams have matured and are ready for digging. The Chief is again sought, and issues his orders. The town probably fixes the day for digging, or rather the day for finishing and housing, or if the Chief has so ordered, for bringing the crop to his own homestead. Before this day the Chief has been making his preparations for receiving them, which will probably be by informing his household, or rather the householders immediately connected with his own, that the crop is to be housed on a certain day, and he wishes the housers to have fish or pork to eat, as the case may be. With this information a good deal more is meant than really appears until the day arrives. The Chief prepares the principal portion of the feast, which will be yams or taro, and perhaps turtle. As soon as the housers have finished, and the Chief's oven is ready, the other householders begin to bring in their contributions, which will consist of food (fish chiefly), mats, native cloth, or anything esteemed or scarce with the people who are to receive it. Now these householders have not themselves contributed all they bring, but each will have reported to his or her friends or neighbours, who, as a rule, respond, and what is called "help their friends or relatives." Of course, the Chief's contribution of both food and property will more than exceed all the rest put together. The food and property is then piled in heaps, and, with a number of whales' teeth, is presented to the producers either by the Chief himself or his "Matanivanua" in a short speech, which is generally followed by some order, or general information, or instruction. Opportunities of this kind are seldom lost by a Chief, who generally finishes by showing them the benefits accruing from industry and peace, or of administering some reproof for misconduct to any person or Chief of town present. Being thus dismissed the producers take possession of the food and property, and it is divided between the householders who have assisted towards the entertainment. Of course, by far the larger portions are put aside into the Chief's yam store. There is another kind of Lavaka-ing gardens

which ought perhaps also to be described. It may be called the Chief's personal or family garden for the year. He will probably send to a district to say that he wishes the said district to provide the "contents of the yam hills" of his garden, that is the "sets." This messenger does not go empty-handed. The Chief then proceeds to "lavaka" the digging of his garden upon his own particular "Qali's" towns, who clear, dig, and hill up the ground, which may occupy one, two, or three days, according to the size of the ground or number of hands employed. The Chief daily provides the food, but that is all. It is then reported to the Chief of the district that the ground is ready, and as at the first intimation of the Chief's desires, a meeting of the elders of the town is called, they decide the number of yams each man is to contribute, which will probably be one or two, or if it be a very large garden, perhaps three each; this arranged, and the day for planting fixed, the Chief of the district (Buli) dispatches his messenger to say "we come to plant the garden on such a day;" then, as in the other case, provision is made, with perhaps this exception, the Chief does the whole of it himself, though there may be voluntary contributions by some of his people (which are always acknowledged when the yams are dug). The day arrives, the garden is planted amidst general rejoicing by the planters, to whom great license is allowed, and who indulge in witty and sarcastic sayings at the expense of the Chief's own "Qali," giving and answering call to each other's toasts, and wishing in various forms, success to planting and an abundant year. Then comes the presentation of food and property; the latter greatly exceeds, though plenty of both is expected, and considered Chief-like. I have seen a hundred whales' teeth presented, besides mats, native cloth, &c., in abundance. As before, a speech will be made, orders issued, reproof and advice given on any matter which may affect the general weal. When the planters return to their homes, and if there has been a good supply of food, &c., they spread the news as they go, extolling the Chief's power, greatness and liberality. And here the Chief has often a special object quite apart from getting his garden planted. Supposing he has reason to believe a district has become disaffected towards him, or disturbed in itself from any cause whatever, he will call them to do that, or some other kind of work, and generally, with the best results, he removes the disaffection, and sends them to their homes well pleased and more loyal than when they came. With very little difference, excepting, perhaps, in detail, and a more limited application, the same system is followed by all Chiefs of inferior

grade; such as the Chief's relatives, &c., Chiefs of tribes, down to heads of households, each calling upon his own "Qali," tribes, or family to help him, and making a compensating return to his helpers; and when the Chief has not been up to the mark in the latter, I have known a tribe to appeal to the supreme Chief, saying, "We went laden to plant our Chief's garden, and have returned hungry and empty-handed;" which would result in the said Chief being reproved and exposed, and perhaps the tribe told they need not work for him again unless first remunerated, though the latter privilege would hardly be taken advantage of unless he were not their direct Chief, but from whom they know they will derive benefits in some other way, which advantage Fijians never lose when opportunity is favourable, even against their own Chiefs. The same system, with nearly all the same arrangements, applies to house building. The work is apportioned out to the several towns or tribes to be engaged. The owner of the house providing food, &c. It is only in some parts of Fiji, or under peculiar circumstances, where direct pay is made to housebuilders.

The "lala," as exercised in connection with canoe building, has but slight differences, which, however, have been pointed out as oppressive to the particular town or tribe who provide food for the carpenters, and otherwise attend upon and assist them generally during the building; but it is probable because it is not always known that there is in one way or another a constant drain made upon the Chief by the said towns; and besides benefits they derive from the carpenters living amongst them, they are often exonerated from assistance in other work to which their neighbours are called. The Chief provides the carpenters with tools, &c., and makes periodical gifts to them, or upon the fittings of certain pieces of woods, or the completion of particular parts of the canoe. When finished, the Chief's orders go out that upon a day named the canoe will be launched, the carpenters paid, &c.; when all contribute both food and property, which, when handed over to the carpenters, are divided amongst them according to their grade, or to the time they may have been employed on the canoe. After launching (that is, if it be a canoe of importance), wherever a new canoe puts in, large quantities of food are presented, amidst general rejoicing, and the Chief who has completed such an undertaking is greatly extolled, and the carpenters praised for the character of the work done. Of course, ropes, sails, and tackling generally have to be provided, the former is frequently done by the Chief's own immediate retainers, or town's people, and the mats

are lavaka'd over perhaps the Chief's whole territory, each town's portion being named, which is generally 100 fathoms of the narrow matting; and as soon as it is ready is brought in, which may be in about a fortnight after the order has been received, and in due form presented. All the mats are plaited by the women.

The next, perhaps, in order to be considered, and by far the most difficult to describe, is the custom of lavaka-ing food for any public occasion, or the visit of Chiefs and strangers from other provinces; and also when a Chief, say a Roko, is travelling through his own province either for pleasure or on the business of the State; in each case, on his arrival in any town, food is at once prepared for him and his followers, the townspeople each contributing their quota. If his visit has been announced, food will be ready cooked awaiting his arrival; then, if his stay be prolonged for a few days, each town in that particular district will contribute their portion for each daily entertainment, and will be "lavaka'd" by the Chief or Buli of the district, who simply sends to each town, saying, "The Chiefs are in our midst, staying at the town of——." Then, in the case of a Chief or Roko visiting another province, which is generally a previously-arranged matter, and often with a specific object, his intended visit will have been announced, and, it may be, definite arrangements made, as to which towns are to take part in preparing the entertainment. As soon as he arrives, messages are sent out, and the food comes in; generally in such a case the day of the visit is fixed, and, as a Chief never goes to visit another empty-handed, he never returns so. On this day there is a mutual exchange of presents. The guest having handed over his, then receives the return presents. The former are generally divided out to the contributors of food and property, or to those towns upon whom the Roko has been lala-ing during the visit. At such exchanges of civilities between Fijian Chiefs of high rank, large canoes, and other of the most valuable of Fijian property, change hands. The worst feature, probably, of these feasts is, that such a frightful waste of good food generally occurs, because a Chief must always provide more than is necessary, and try to excel his guest, or he loses caste in his eyes and those of his retainers; and when these visits are more of a public or national character the waste and destruction is most deplorable, and I have known, when such a Chief's visit has been prolonged, a district left in a state of want and famine. In dividing the property (that is, presents) of a visiting Chief, it is considered quite a matter of the Roko's or host's own pleasure

whether or not he divides a portion as above described to each town or tribe, but it must not be forgotten that all that a Chief possesses is regarded as public property, and is available for such purposes, and generally finds its way amongst his people; and again, on the other hand, all that is possessed by the people or tribes is regarded by them as really the Chief's, and at his service, though, of course, questions of polity and the Chief's concern for his people's welfare, and to retain their unbroken loyalty, always influence the exercise of his power or prerogative. Even in the old times, these rights were very seldom exercised to the extreme, and only under peculiar circumstances, or in connection with their mythology. But, excepting perhaps in a few parts of the group, this exercise of extreme power has passed away, and individual property is now respected. The character of a truly good ruling Fijian Chief is consideration for the welfare of his people; to conserve their interest and promote their increase, is his great object and concern; he is the parent or patriarch of his people; and a Chief without these characteristics is called among his fellows "a Chief with but a commoner's heart."

The above appears to be the object and manner in which the "lala" authority is exercised in the usual, ordinary, and regular course of things.

There are, however, a few other instances in which the "lala" authority is exercised, but I think they ought to be called special or extraordinary, and it may be said with some truth, perhaps, to be of recent introduction, but this is only in reference more particularly to its object. The first instance is "lavaka"-ing work to be done for white settlers, which is generally of two kinds, such as house-building, contract, or plantation work.

A Chief will often exercise his "lala" authority for some special or public object. His people, or some portion of them want, say a vessel, or he himself desires to purchase one, and arrangements are made accordingly, the amount and time for it to be raised are all talked over with his elders, and the portions of money or produce to be supplied by each district, when for a time a whole province may become so engaged. This has been a great convenience to Chiefs, and no serious infliction upon the people. But in some parts of the group it has been carried to such excess that often for months the people have been engaged in purchasing something or other for their Chief, or paying a debt for some article or articles he has got from the trader, which, after a day or two's amusement therefrom, he has thrown aside like a toy, while

his people have been oppressed and enslaved through his fancies. Another and more commendable instance is, when I have known a Chief raise a whole province to clear an old road, or make a new, and perhaps important one, and in this way fifteen or twenty miles have been cleared in one day.

Another instance, during the late sickness, though it hardly is a case of pure "lala," exemplifies the exercise of power. The Chief of Bua declared all gardens and food common property, as the people were suffering more from want of food than from disease, many having to go a considerable distance to their own gardens; thus, in a great calamity or public emergency, a Chief could exercise his authority, and it would be responded to by his people, and public good and convenience be conserved thereby.

It is hardly necessary to the present question to describe the exercise of the "lala" in times of war. It is then simply absolute over life and property through the whole community and over all they possess, but indemnities of war paid by the conquered party at the time or after are always divided amongst the warriors.

There are a few instances where "lala" is exercised over particular classes of the community. Two are worthy of notice, viz., the fishing tribes, and the carpenters, or the canoe-building tribes. Each class considers itself specially and directly under the Chief's immediate command. The fishermen have a large share in preparing for the entertainment of visiting Chiefs, or for large gatherings on important occasions, and the fisherman's share in the divisions of property is always an important one.

Turtle fishing is different from any other kind. A Chief desiring turtle caught sends first a whale's tooth to the tribe with a request that they will put down their net, which means "prepare for turtle fishing." As soon as the canoe with the net on board is afloat, a large present is then made to them, when they proceed to work. The capture of the first fish is rewarded by a whale's tooth and other property, and each succeeding fish by some present, with the addition of a whale's tooth, until the tenth is brought in, when a feast is given by the Chief to the fishermen, and considerable property presented, which ends the fishing for that occasion, unless the Chief wishes more caught, when the same thing is repeated. A Chief generally looks well to his fishermen, and sees that they are properly provided with canoes and other requisites.

Fijian carpenters or canoe builders have been described as the lowest vassals of a Chief; whilst in some respect this may be true, they nevertheless possess some very exceptional privileges; and,

although they are only supposed to work when and where the Chief consents or directs, they are well paid for what they do, and are well cared for by the Chief himself, or whoever they may work for; but it is next to impossible to get them to do work (canoe building) excepting through their own Chief.

There is just one other form where the rights of exercising the "lala" appears to be recognized, and it is by levying a fine upon any district, town, or tribe, of either labour or produce, for some offence or misdemeanour, such as neglecting to carry out any special order or command of the Roko's, or that of a Buli, or Chief of a town, or for committing any act of violence, evil deed, or the destruction of the property of their neighbours; also for any act of disrespect to their own or other known Chief of rank, for any act of disloyalty, or for any disturbance amongst themselves. Any of those having been proved after inquiry, a fine is inflicted, and the tribe town, or district, as the case may be, has to do a certain amount of work, as roadmaking, perhaps, or to pay so much in kind to the Chief, who, if compensation has been awarded to the injured, hands over the amount, and retains the balance for a common or public purpose. I have known in cases of theft, when it was found impossible to discover the culprits, whose continued depredations became a common nuisance, the infliction of a fine upon the district or neighbouring towns to compensate the losers, not only stop their doings, but, as a rule, lead to the discovery of the perpetrators; as the natives say, with considerable truth, it makes every innocent man a detective. It also acts most salutarily upon neighbouring districts.

The above appears to be the various forms and instances, both regular and extraordinary, where the exercise of the "lala" is considered by natives as right, proper, legitimate, and honourable, to which the people readily respond and submit. This is so much so, that whenever a trial has been made to do away with the "lala" as an institution, a greater difficulty has been experienced with the people than with the Chiefs. The latter say, "If we receive less property we shall simply have less to give away."

It will be seen that, in the above descriptions, I have sought to confine my remarks to the exercise of "lala" in its legitimate character, and have not noticed the voluntary and spontaneous contributions of the people to their Chiefs, which is so often spoken against by foreigners, who either do not understand it, or have the impression that it is simply the result of a secretly conveyed intimation on the part of a Chief, which is altogether a mistake. Such expressions of sympathy and affection to a Chief are frequent and

characteristic, and never pass unrewarded or unacknowledged by him. But it is entirely distinct from the "lala," and is simply and purely the expression of respect and regard the people consider their Chief's due.

The principal abuse in the exercise of Chief's authority, is by High Chiefs' sons, and relatives of the Rokos, perhaps, and Chiefs of lower grades, or their retainers, who go about from place to place levying tribute—or, in other words, black mail—of all kinds of produce or native property, and who are never slow to make use of the Supreme Chief or Roko's name and authority, when such can be done with safety, to secure their object and oppress and impoverish the people. This kind of thing is not called "lala," but "vaka-saurara," that is, oppression, or "forcibly taking away," and the perpetrators are called "nai vakacaca," or spoilers.

Another case may be given, which is, when a Chief, for some cause or other, has got into debt, and is unable to pay, and he adopts one of two expedients, or in some cases both, to raise funds. He "lavaka's" produce of some kind or other. It may be at per head among the males, or so much from each town. In some cases, if the amount be large, a Chief will appeal for assistance to a Chief of another province, who will generally accede to the request. In this way large districts are kept all but exclusively at such work for months, to the neglect of their usual avocations, which, if it occur during planting season, causes gardens to be neglected, and consequently, after the debt is paid, more or less distress prevails amongst the people.

The second case is the "lava"-ing of men, to go and work under certain arrangements, say so much per head to be paid to the Chief supplying the men, or, perhaps, the men's wages are hypothecated, and in such cases town and districts have been thinned of all their able-bodied and young men, sometimes for from two to three years. I would here notice that this is different altogether from the ordinary mode of obtaining Fijian labour, where presents are generally made to the Chief, and divided amongst the relatives of the men leaving, when both parties are well enough satisfied. Each of the above forms of "lava"-ing men is of modern origin, and the result of settlement of whites in the Group.

The foregoing is as nearly as possible a description of what is generally supposed to be the institution of "lala," but which, far from being "lala," is in reality simply the arbitrary exercise of authority of Chiefs over the people, an authority probably pure enough originally, but corrupted from time to time by capricious and tyrannical rival Chiefs.

There is another custom so nearly allied to the above, which is known as begging, but in a Fijian sense it means much more, as the party solicited is not always free to refuse, and a native is always ashamed to refuse to give anything asked of him. For this last reason only they will not unfrequently give, if solicited, all they possess.

Before closing this paper, the custom of *solevu*-ing ought perhaps to be noticed; though it does not come under the head of "*lala*," it is very nearly allied to it, and often calls it forth. A Chief or Chiefs, or the people of a province, district, or town, being in want of some articles, will send to those of another province, district, or town, and request them to *solevu*, naming the articles they are in want of, and perhaps the articles they will bring in return. This being accepted, the day will be fixed, the proposing parties, unless otherwise specially arranged, visit their friends to present their property and receive what is given in return, and both lots are again divided out to the contributors only, so that it will be seen the custom partakes very much of the nature of an ordinary market or fair.—*Correspondence relating to Fiji* (c-1624 of 1876).

Archæology.

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EXCAVATIONS AT CRANBORNE CHASE.¹

THESE two splendid volumes are the beginning of a series intended to contain a minute record of the work of examination of the antiquities on and near his own property to which General Pitt-Rivers has determined to devote the remaining portion of his life. The author has long been known as one of the most distinguished of living antiquaries and anthropologists; and the combination of archæological and anthropological attainments which he possesses is probably unique. It must be accounted, therefore, a happy event for science that he succeeded to property so rich in relics of the past as the Rivers estates, and that he did so under circumstances which admitted of his dedicating his leisure to the investigations here recorded. Nor can any student fail to sympathise heartily with him when he says that, with the ample harvest before him and "with the particular tastes that I had cultivated, it almost seemed to me as if some unseen hand had trained me up to be the possessor of such a property, which, up to within a short time of my inheriting it, I had but little reason to expect."

The work before us is prefaced with a short statement of the manner in which the author came into this inheritance, and of the condition in Lord Rivers' will requiring him to change his name from that of Lane-Fox which he had already adorned by his contributions to anthropology. A general description of the district follows, and an account of the staff he organised and the method in which the excavations were carried on. All this is valuable; nor is any apology needed for the fulness of detail concerning those excavations and their results which forms the bulk of the volumes. Weighty are the words General Pitt-Rivers uses in reference to this; and they ought to sink deep into the mind of every antiquary. He says:—"Excavators, as a rule, record only those things which appear to them important at the time, but fresh problems in Archæology and Anthropology are constantly arising, and it can

¹ EXCAVATIONS IN CRANBORNE CHASE, NEAR RUSHMORE, ON THE BORDERS OF DORSET AND WILTS, 1880-1888. By Lieutenant-General PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L. Vol. I., 1887, and Vol. II., 1888. Privately printed.

hardly have escaped the notice of anthropologists, especially those who, like myself, have been concerned with the morphology of art, that, on turning back to old accounts in search of evidence, the points which would have been most valuable have been passed over from being thought uninteresting at the time. Every detail should, therefore, be recorded in the manner most conducive to facility of reference, and it ought at all times to be the chief object of an excavator to reduce his own personal equation to a minimum." The maxim conveyed in the last sentence has been faithfully acted on in the explorations around Rushmore; and by means of the careful descriptions and measurements, and the clear and accurate maps and drawings provided for us in these volumes we are placed as nearly as possible in the position of having watched with our own eyes the work as it proceeded. It would be safe to say that no such record as this has ever been produced. In these pages we learn how much has been lost by the ignorance and the carelessness of so many of the earlier explorers, even among professed antiquaries.

The first volume is occupied with the examination of a Romano-British village on Woodcuts Common, just within the borders of Dorsetshire, and of a few pits and two dykes nearer to Rushmore, in Wiltshire. The second volume describes the opening of some barrows (at one of which the late Prof. Rolleston assisted a short while before his death), the discovery of another Romano-British village, this time on Rotherley Down in Wiltshire, and excavations made at Winkelbury Hill on the property of Sir Thomas Grove, overlooking the valley of Broad Chalke. The most remarkable result obtained has undoubtedly been the finding of skeletons of a diminutive dolichocephalic race of men who appear to have occupied the villages referred to during the Roman period. The measurements of their skulls and limb-bones would shew them to have had an average stature for males of 5 feet 2·6 inches, and for females of 4 feet 10·9 inches. With regard to these measurements, however, it may be observed in passing that one of the skeletons unearthed on Rotherley Down, and pronounced to be that of an aged man estimated to have been 4 feet 8·5 inches in height, was found with a bronze ring on one of the fingers (it is not stated *which*) of the left hand. The interior diameter of the ring is given as 0·68 inch, a size certainly large for a person so short. Who were these diminutive villagers? This is a problem full of interest, the solution of which might throw light on other questions perplexing alike to the historian of this island and to the anthropologist. General Pitt-Rivers does not spend much time in discussing it; but he offers

two suggestions;—first, that they are survivors of the Neolithic population driven into this out-of-the-way region by pressure from the Celts and other invading races,—a hypothesis to which the crouched position of many of the interments and the markedly dolichocephalic and hyperdolichocephalic skulls, he thinks, lend countenance; and, secondly, that they are remnants of a larger race of Britons, by which we understand him to mean some tribe of Brythonic Celts, “deteriorated by slavery, and reduced in stature by the drafting of their largest men into the Roman legions abroad.” This suggestion he considers to be perhaps supported by the comparatively large size of their females. At present it is clear we have no means of arriving at a conclusion on the subject: we must await further explorations in this and other parts of the country.

The remains laid bare both at Woodcuts and at Rotherley disclose continued occupation of the villages for a lengthened period by a peaceful, poor, agricultural and pastoral people, probably down to the English conquest. At Woodcuts there seems to have been a small colony in somewhat better circumstances than their neighbours; and one portion of the village (the south-east quarter) it is conjectured was the compound of a chief. Of the skeletons found in this village, only one was buried in a grave apparently dug for the purpose; and that one was in the remote corner of the south-east quarter. Here the body lay extended. The crouched position was the favourite, though not the universal, attitude of burial; but so far as can be judged, the difference of attitude does not indicate any difference of race or social position. There was no attempt at orientation, such as the author discovered in the Anglo-Saxon graves at Winkelbury. The bodies were frequently placed in pits cut in the chalk. The number of these pits is considerable; and what uses they were intended to serve is doubtful. That they were not cut for graves seems certain, for the bodies are never at the bottom. They have the appearance of being used as receptacles for rubbish flung in from time to time; and the human bones are found in the filling, sometimes even close to the top.

Of the religious beliefs of this mysterious people little, if anything, can be gleaned. None of the interments are accompanied by anything suggestive of the belief in a posthumous existence. Nothing was brought to light that would indicate the objects or mode of worship; and the only thing that can be said with any confidence is that Christianity had assuredly not reached this wild upland. Two objects doubtfully supposed to be, the one a charm, and the other a reliquary, were uncovered at Rotherley. Three

of the skeletons at Woodcuts were in situations from which foundation sacrifices might be inferred. Two of these were under the main rampart, one on the north side and the other on the south. The third lay beside the flue of a hypocaust in the south-east quarter, as if it had been buried under the eaves or threshold of a house—perhaps that of the chief before referred to—which the hypocaust was intended to warm. But there is nothing to confirm the conjecture of sacrifice. Indeed the regular appearance of all three of these burials (all extended), and the presence of nails which may have been coffin nails in the interment beneath the northern rampart, seem to weigh against it. It may be observed that the villages were both so poor that there were no traces of house-foundations of a permanent character. Wattle-work covered with clay was the material of which the dwellings were built. Consequently, even had they been inhabited by a tribe known to have practised human sacrifice at the laying of foundations, we should not expect to recover evidence of the practice, save at the utmost in cases such as those before us, namely, the main ramparts and the chief's residence. And we are not aware that any evidence has been recorded of this custom in Britain: but it may be worth the while of future explorers to be on the look-out for it. Only one cinerary urn was found.

But if we turn from the religious beliefs and practices to the material civilization of the occupants of these villages we can learn much. The chief metallic substances used are bronze and iron. The fibulæ, of which a considerable number were found, are of Roman type, of various and sometimes elaborate and elegant shapes; and some of the safety pins possess the most modern improvements. Brooches of mosaic, as well as of beautifully moulded gilt bronze, were a luxury not unknown. Rings, of Roman manufacture, of bronze, iron, and other metals adorned fingers whose girth could not have been very much less than that of the fingers of taller races. Bangles, buttons and other ornaments were also worn. Tweezers and ear-picks were articles of the toilet. Not only knives but spoons were used in the manipulation of food. Keys and locks and hinges secured the lids of chests, if not the doors of houses. Relics such as the foregoing, though not absolutely confined to the wealthy quarter of Woodcuts, are of course more numerous there than elsewhere in these two villages; and coins are far more abundant at Woodcuts than at Rotherley, fifteen only having been found at the latter to 197 at the former, of which 4 at Rotherley and 54 at Woodcuts could not be identified. The Roman coins in both villages shew a

curious gap in the first half of the third century; and the latest coin found at Rotherley is of Tetricus, whose power Aurelian brought to an ignominious end in 272. At Woodcuts the series is continued for about 80 years more, down to Magnentius. This would seem to point to a longer lease of life for the latter community.

Some of the most interesting and important relics are the specimens of pottery. General Pitt-Rivers' carefully compiled statistics in reference to these specimens throw unexpected light on the history of the villages. The table given in the second volume shews exactly where the different kinds of pottery were found, the result of which is that while both better and worse qualities of pottery were picked up everywhere there is nevertheless a distinction in the classes of vessels which indicates that both sites were inhabited before Roman civilization had penetrated thither. The Dorsetshire labourer at the present day uses a kind of narrow-necked jar or bottle, provided, not with handles, but simply with eyelet holes for suspension by a cord. These holes are known as the Purbeck handle, from their prevalence in the district. Fragments of vessels provided with the Purbeck handle were discovered, not merely in surface trenching, but also in the pits.

The only difference, so far as can be judged from the plates, between these and the specimens from Woodcuts and Rotherley is that the latter is somewhat better finished, though they are all described as coarsely made. The holes are a little more than half an inch in diameter. It is easy to see how a true handle would develop; and this is made clear by means of the drawings and sections given in the work. The first step of the process is by thinning the rudimentary handle and bringing it forward from the rounded surface of the vessel so as barely to admit the tip of the finger and thumb. But this is an improvement which seems to have been added after the invention of a coarse bead rim. Pottery of the latter description is common throughout the villages, but markedly in the pits, though the improved handle is rarely found in the pits. Another form of vessel is scattered over the surface and lies in the drains and ditches, but only very occasionally in the pits. This is a vessel with a rim apparently made to fit a cover. The cover does not seem to have been found, a difficulty which may be explainable by the supposition that the cover was of wood, and has therefore perished. The surface also bears vessels having a rim modelled like a twisted cord. Both these kinds of pottery are of later date than the bead rims or the Purbeck handles, and later still is the New Forest ware. The pottery called by this name was common during the Roman

occupation in and around the district indicated in its name. It was a native manufacture, of a very advanced type, and frequently of great elegance of form. But the most beautiful of all is the red Samian ware, whereof large numbers of fragments were found. In one of the ditches at Woodcuts eighteen pieces were lying in a black seam of refuse dispersed over a space of about seven feet. These were carefully put together by Mr. Ready of the British Museum, who was enabled to reconstruct out of them a bowl $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, one small chip only being missing.

Considerable ingenuity is shown in the manufacture of articles of bone. Many of these articles were no doubt made on the spot, and might well have occupied the leisure of a community where the arts of peace flourished. Among the relics were found several specimens of the metatarsal and metacarpal bones of a sheep bored throughout their length, and some having one or two transverse holes. It is suggested that these were for winding string or thread; and one of them is scratched as if by some such use.

Of fragments of quern stones, whetstones, pounders and other implements of stone a large number were found. Flint scrapers, too, were not uncommon, and suggest that they were still in use for some purposes, as, for instance, the preparation of skins. Knives and arrowheads of flint were rare, as we might expect if the site had been settled, as other facts seem to show, only shortly before Roman times. The iron implements are numerous, chiefly consisting of domestic and agricultural utensils, and showing as may be gathered from such as have been already enumerated, a comparatively advanced civilization, and not a little direct Roman influence.

Little can be learnt of the general habits of the people beyond the facts above stated of their poverty and of their peaceful agricultural and pastoral character. There is some reason to suspect infanticide from the number of remains of newborn children unearthed, especially at Rotherley. This would be consistent with the poverty of the settlement; but the evidence is not conclusive. The animal food used included horses as well as sheep and oxen, roe deer and perhaps dogs. At the wealthier village of Woodcuts oysters were also eaten, but apparently no other molluscs. The horses were small, not exceeding 11 or 12 hands in height and bearing a general resemblance to the Exmoor pony. The sheep were long-legged and small, and belonged to a variety now only represented by the St. Kilda breed.

It seems clear from the comparative shallowness of the wells

that the rainfall in those early days must have been much greater than now, and consequently the soil was much more saturated with moisture. The extensive ditches are also evidence to the same effect. Probably the land was covered with forest, and the bare chalk-hills which are now so characteristic of the scenery of our south-eastern counties were then clad with trees. This is borne out by the testimony of classic historians. Pythias alludes to Britain as a land of clouds and rain; and if there be any substratum of facts beneath the mythical and highly-coloured description of Procopius it must lie in some such condition of things.

We have only been enabled to touch in a perfunctory way on a few of the many interesting questions raised in this admirable record; and the space which remains to us will not admit of our discussing the other explorations, valuable though they are. They comprise a number of barrows at Rushmore, and a camp, barrows and pits and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Winkelsbury Hill, not quite a mile and a half from the Romano-British village of Rotherley. One important matter, however, connected with the camp we must mention. It is situated at the extremity of a tongue of land stretching northwards into the Broad Chalke Valley, and is surrounded and protected on three sides by a steep descent. On the fourth side it adjoins the high upland of the Wiltshire downs, and is defended by ramparts and ditches. What is remarkable is the wide openings, or gateways, which divide these ramparts. The top of the declivity is surrounded also by a rampart, but between it and the rampart which defends the southern side of the camp are openings, that on the western side being 115 feet wide and that on the eastern side 55 feet wide. The southern rampart is in two portions, of which the eastern half is advanced 120 feet further to the south than the western half. The space between is open, and looking at it directly from the south the opening is of the width of 90 feet. There is no trace of any disturbance of the ground between, so that these openings were part of the original design of the camp, and greatly reduced its defensive strength. The reason for this is a problem which General Pitt-Rivers' military knowledge renders him peculiarly fitted to discuss. He observes that the arrangement "points obviously to a necessity which must have existed for large openings for the ingress or exit of a considerable body of men or animals in a short time under pressure from without," and suggests that it may have been "constructed for the purpose of quickly driving in, when attacked by a neighbouring tribe, the animals which in ordinary times were kept grazing on

the downland to the south of the camp." The argument with which this ingenious suggestion is supported is, like all the rest of the work, worthy of the most careful consideration. To us it seems to attain a high degree of probability.

It will be seen that the work before us is as fruitful in new questions as it is in accurate data for the solution hereafter of those questions as well as of others that already await solution. Nor is this small praise; for the new questions raised by any discovery always mark the real advance made by that discovery. But the chief lesson the volumes teach is how much may be done by explorations carried on in the severely scientific spirit and with the attention to the most seemingly trivial details that have deservedly placed General Pitt-Rivers in the very first rank of English antiquaries, and have enabled him by his explorations at Rushmore and elsewhere to add so much to our knowledge of the remote past. Government appointments are not always conferred on the worthiest objects; but never did a government act with a truer instinct than when General Pitt-Rivers was made Inspector of Ancient Monuments. Our only regret is that his powers are so absurdly limited. We earnestly hope that the day may speedily come when, setting aside the exaggerated notions of rights of private property which are so fondly cherished in some quarters, all Ancient Monuments and their contents shall be declared to belong to the nation and be placed absolutely under the control of some duly qualified official, subject only to reasonable claims for actual, and not fanciful, damage inflicted in the course of any explorations, and protected by severe penalties from interference not authorised and not carried out under strict scientific and official superintendence.² In the meantime General Pitt-Rivers has shown us how much may be done by properly organised research. These two volumes ought to give an impetus to the movement in that direction originated in the pages of this Review. We can conceive no better purpose to which the funds of the Society of Antiquaries and the energies of the various local archæological societies and field clubs can be put than the

² In the December number of this Review, p. 251, is an account of the opening of a barrow on Drummond farm, in the parish of Kiltearn, Ross-shire, in the presence of Sir Hector Munro, owner of the property. It is a favourable specimen of the method of the ordinary explorer, and nothing can be more instructive than to compare and contrast it with General Pitt-Rivers' procedure. No drawings appear to have been made, but the vagueness of the measurements and other details, and the folly of replacing the bones, instead of carefully preserving them, together with the other contents of the barrows (for another had been opened ten days before) and with full descriptions, in some museum is manifest.

training, under so experienced an explorer as the author of the *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, of a younger generation of archæologists in the methodical exploration and study of the remains of antiquity yet untouched in different parts of the country. It is impossible to say what knowledge of importance not merely national might then be recovered to mankind. The results of all such investigations ought, we think too, to be published at the expense of the nation, and not left like these to be borne by private munificence or to be entombed in the records of any societies however large and influential. They would in that way be made accessible at a minimum of expense to all students.

If we may, without appearing ungracious, make one suggestion in reference to the work now under review, it is that an index of relics be provided in future volumes. The tables are most careful and exhaustive; but if it be desired to ascertain whether any specific relics have been found, and where, it is necessary to examine the tables line by line. An index would enable the enquirer to see this at a glance. We know the difficulty of index-making in such a case as this; and we certainly do not mention the matter as a deduction from the value of the book, but simply in the hope that General Pitt-Rivers may be able hereafter to lay all who are interested in his labours under a still greater debt of gratitude to one who has already raised so noble a monument to his own devotion to anthropological science.

We must not conclude this notice, inadequate at the best, without referring to the museum at Farnham where General Pitt-Rivers has placed the various articles he has recovered from the custody of the soil. There they are duly ticketed and described; and accurate models of the villages and models on a larger scale of the particular finds have also been placed there, where they may be studied in the very neighbourhood and in connection with the very places where the discoveries were made. It is a matter of congratulation for all who are interested in the elevation of the masses of our fellow countrymen to learn that the Museum has proved a great attraction to the working men of the district, and that on Sunday afternoons more than 100 persons, and on special holidays between 200 and 300 persons, visit it. Here is an example which more of our landowners and wealthy men might follow if they had any real desire to benefit their neighbours or to disseminate knowledge.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

History.

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THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT EXCHEQUER AT WESTMINSTER.

THE Exchequer is perhaps more closely connected with the Archæology of Westminster than any other secular institution before the reign of "the English Justinian." It is true that from this date the ancient palace was the fixed seat of the Law Courts, in which the Barons' Chamber was thenceforth merged, but so long as the Curia and Exchequer were distinct, though parallel departments, the latter really monopolized the official establishment at Westminster. It may be urged, however, that in this archæological aspect the Curia is the older court, held here, possibly, in King Edward's day in the White Hall or Painted Chamber, and transplanted by the Red King to a more dignified habitation in the Great Hall with which it has ever since been associated. But it is obvious that this view of the matter entirely assumes the permanent or official establishment of the Curia at any one centre. In truth it had no such establishment, but followed the king from one palace to another, its members being for the most part "*curiales*" or "*familiares*" as expert as any Barons of the Exchequer, but differing from the latter in this important particular that they had no *impedimenta* in the shape of a chequered table, a score or so of iron chests stuffed with rolls and books of reference, an equal number of binns full of tallies and writs for every English county, and a smelting furnace, but could assemble and decide off-hand a knotty point of law between sunrise and Chaplain Roger's hunting-mass.

Therefore the Great Hall of Rufus must not be looked on as the home of the Curia before the 13th century, for it was not necessarily used as a court-house, even when the Court happened to be at Westminster *de more*, or for any other purpose than a council, a coronation feast, or some other imposing ceremony. In any case, however, when the king, after some three days' stay, had recommenced the round of his more favoured hunting-lodges, Westminster knew the Curia no more until the next fitful visit of royalty, and

absolutely no trace of its official existence was left behind except the Records of the Court, bundles of rolls and bales of writs, which appear to have been deposited in the Treasury of the Receipt. Now it is the existence of the latter as an essential department of the Exchequer which constitutes the difference between this latter court and the Curia and explains the existence of a permanent staff under the Treasurer and Chamberlains at Westminster. The Barons of the Exchequer themselves were scarcely distinguishable, in the time of which we treat, from the Justices of the Curia. Both were equally "curiales" and "familiares," and the members of one court were equally versed in the routine of the other, up to a certain point. It is only here and there that an expert stands out as a specialist in jurisprudence or finance, a Glanville or a Fitz-Neale. These Barons then made little longer stay at Westminster than their brethren of the Curia though the period and scope of their work were rigidly marked out for them; but at the end of the short session they left behind them all the apparatus of their office in charge of their deputies, the clerical staff of the Receipt. The President and Constable and "curiales" of the pattern of Master Brown went to follow the court; the Treasurer and Chamberlains to hover between the Camera and Treasury; while the legal Barons went on circuit in the provinces for the nice adjustment of scutages and assarts. The Marshall only was left with his prisoners and tallies to dispose of. But in the Lower Exchequer, or Receipt, the Deputy Chamberlains, the Treasurer's clerk, and divers clerks and serjeants would be found hard at work on occasion long after the Barons had adjourned. It is true that during the recess the majority of these clerks would return to their normal employment, being paid only for the session, those detained on the King's business being recognizable by the extra allowances awarded them,¹ but even so some regular official must be in constant residence at Westminster. Therefore when the final act of the session is accomplished, that is to say, when, after compiling and checking (with much wrangling in their respective masters' honour) and sealing the summonses to the Sheriffs against the next session, the clerks and scribes of the Chancellor and Treasurer have returned to the Chapel or Scriptorium; when the four Tellers have started in charge of a treasure train of lumbering carts and great wooden hutches, that there may be no mysterious leakage of silver pennies, and the Deputy Chamberlains have donned armour and mounted horse as their escort to scare away marauders according to the terms of their

¹ *Pipe Rolls* of the period under London and Midds. or Hampshire.

office, and the remaining officials have taken a holiday like their betters, and finally the Marshall, after having seen the Usher of the Barons' Chamber safely under weigh with the summonses to be served upon the Debtors of the Crown in every shire, has himself departed to change the air of vaults and jails for the breezes of the Wiltshire Downs; even then the permanent establishment of the Exchequer is represented by the Usher of the Receipt, who keeps the keys and goes the rounds of the building night and morning, while the domestic servants of the absent Usher of the Barons' Chamber give heed that there is no leakage through the tiles upon the chequered table, and that the moth and rust are excluded from the hangings of the walls, and the linen blinds of the windows,² being overlooked in turn by the keeper of the King's Palace, who is also warden of the Fleet Prison.³

So far the permanent existence of the Exchequer appears to be established and these contemporary indications are confirmed by the unbroken evidence of its later history since the beginning of the 13th century. A difficulty now arises in locating this permanent establishment, at Westminster itself in the first instance and subsequently at any particular site within the confines of the Royal Palace there.

The tradition of an earlier age has fixed the original site of the Treasury of the Kings of England, whether of the Saxon or Norman line, at Winchester, and with this Treasury the same tradition connects the first germ of an Exchequer or Audit of the revenue. The subject is one of great difficulty arising from the obscurity of description which characterises the contemporary references to date and scene of action. But it is at least possible to evolve a reasonable theory in explanation of the conflicting evidence of an Exchequer and Treasury apparently existing at more than one centre during the reign of Henry II.

In the first place we must recognise the fact that the Exchequer was nominally as much a "deambulatory" Court as the Curia itself, although from obvious motives of convenience we find it usually fixed in one central spot. Thus we have instances in the reign before mentioned, and even later, of an Exchequer held at any one of the great towns or royal residences without any further reason apparent than that it was required for the time being to "follow the King." We even find the chief contents apparently of the Treasury, bullion, plate, or regalia, and records, moved on

² *Pipe Roll* 23 Hen. II. *et seq.*

³ *Pipe Roll* 9 Hen. II. *et seq.*

several occasions with great labour at a heavy expense from Westminster or Winchester to the temporary abode of the Court or even beyond sea. The explanation is to be found in the purely personal rather than official nature of the establishment, which like the Curia had its first origin in the informal session of the King's household officers in the very Chamber of the Palace.

In the course of a century, however, this crude system had been refined upon, with the result, as we have seen, that both Curia and Exchequer had now an independent session, the places of those officials whose presence could not be spared from the household being supplied by deputies.⁴ The Curia being unencumbered with official baggage could meet in one palace as well as another, to which circumstance we owe the well-known picture of the peripatetic suitor of the period,⁵ while the place of the Treasury and Exchequer was supplied by the Camera or Ministry of the Privy Purse replenished by forestalling the farm of a local officer⁶ or by relays of treasure from the old and new capitals, and audited by certain quasi-Barons of the Exchequer in their original capacity of gentlemen of the bed-chamber.⁷ But it would still happen on certain occasions, the significance of which is in most cases now lost to us, that the King would be content with nothing less than the view of the whole operation around the chequered board and melting pot, and in such cases there was no alternative but for the Barons to set in motion the long procession of treasure-wains or to commission the royal "smack"⁸ for a passage across the Channel, convoyed in each case by the Deputy Chamberlains clad in unaccustomed mail and girded with the rusty Treasury swords.⁹

Otherwise, however, the royal treasure was both audited and hoarded at Westminster or Winchester and the only important point is which of these two capitals should be regarded as the official seat of the Exchequer and Treasury.

On some former occasions in connection with the subject of the official custody of Domesday Book,¹⁰ I attempted to decide this interesting question in favour of the Westminster site, but though

⁴ "Quia propter majora et magis neccessaria . . . avelli non possunt."—*Dialogus* i. 5.

⁵ Palgrave, *Engl. Commonwealth* ii. lxxv.

⁶ "Et in camera Regis per breve Regis."—*Pipe Rolls*, *passim*.

⁷ Camerarii, also called Milites or Barones, see *Fantome* (Rolls ed.), line 2021-3.

⁸ The "esnecca Regis" of the Pipe Rolls.

⁹ See also *ante* and *Dialogus* i. 3.

¹⁰ *Athenæum*, Nov. 27, 1886; *Domesday Commemoration*, 1888; *Antiquary*, Sept., 1887.

I was able to refer to numerous instances of an Exchequer and Treasury settled at Westminster in the reign of Henry II., it was pointed out at the time by a well-known scholar,¹¹ who supported the claims of Winchester with equal emphasis, that for every instance in favour of the former site, another equally conclusive could be advanced on behalf of the latter from contemporary records and chronicles. Therefore according to the estimable practice of the "compendious Mr. Madox" in similar cases: "I leave every man to his freedom of judging therein as he shall see cause."

NOTICES OF AN EXCHEQUER AND TREASURY AT WINCHESTER OR WESTMINSTER
IN THE REIGN OF HENRY II.¹²

| | | | |
|------|--|---|----------------------------------|
| 1156 | "Treasure" | conveyed to Cricklade and beyond sea | from Winchester. |
| " | " | " | Shoreham |
| " | " | " | Westminster. |
| 1157 | Regalia | " | St. Edmunds |
| " | " | " | Winchester. |
| 1158 | "Treasure" | " | Carlisle |
| " | Regalia (and Tallies) | conveyed to Worcester | " |
| 1159 | "Treasure" | conveyed to beyond sea | " |
| 1161 | "Record Chest" | " | London |
| " | "Treasure" | " | beyond sea |
| 1162 | " | " | " |
| 1163 | Plate | " | Berkhamstead for Xmas |
| 1164 | "Record Chest" | " | London (Easter) |
| " | " | " | Northampton (Mich) ¹³ |
| " | Exchequer at Westminster | (Michaelmas.) | " |
| 1165 | "Treasure" | conveyed to various palaces | " |
| 1166 | " | " | " ¹⁴ |
| 1169 | " | " | Southampton |
| 1170 | " | (and Regalia) conveyed to Southampton | " |
| 1172 | " | conveyed during the whole year | " |
| 1173 | " | " | to Normandy and back |
| " | " | " | Winchester and elsewhere |
| 1174 | " | " | " |
| " | " | (and Hawks, &c.,) conveyed during the whole year from | Westminster. |
| " | " | Winchester. | |
| 1175 | "Treasure" | conveyed to Gloucester | from Westminster. |
| 1176 | " | returned to London. | |
| " | Charter dated at the Exchequer at Westminster. | | |

¹¹ Mr. J. H. Round in the *Antiquary* for June and July, 1887.

¹² Printed *Pipe Rolls* and Eyton's *Itinerary*, I have verified most of these from the original rolls.

¹³ This is the entry so much relied on by Mr. Round in his article in the *Antiquary*. His argument is that the Exchequer being known to be at London at Easter and at Northampton at Michaelmas the despatch of this "Record Chest" from Winchester to both those sessions indicates a normal centre at the old Saxon capital. As a matter of fact the Michaelmas Exchequer was at Westminster and therefore this chest had nothing to do with that Exchequer. I am convinced myself that it contained only certain Regalia, and as the King was in London at Easter (though not at the Session of the Exchequer as Mr. Round supposes) the whole proceeding is explained by the natural supposition that the chest in question like the bulk of the contents of the Winchester Treasury "followed the Court" and was not required for fiscal purposes.

¹⁴ And yet we find a suitor paying his fines into the Treasury at Westminster in these two years.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1177 | Easter Exchequer at Westminster. |
| „ | “Treasure” conveyed to Winchester and back to London. |
| „ | „ „ „ „ from Westminster. |
| „ | Treasury at Winchester has to be repaired. |
| 1179 | “Treasure” conveyed to London from Winchester. |
| „ | „ „ Winchester „ Westminster. |
| „ | Plate „ Southampton „ Winchester. |
| „ | “Treasure” „ after the King „ Westminster. |
| 1180 | „ „ to Woodstock „ „ |
| „ | Dies „ from Winchester and returned. |
| „ | “Treasure” „ to London from Winchester. |
| „ | Treasury implements purchased at Winchester. |
| „ | Exchequer at Westminster, Michaelmas. |
| „ | “Treasure” sent out from Westminster to different mints throughout England to be recoined and returned there. |
| 1181 | Plate sent out from Westminster. |
| „ | “Treasure” conveyed to Winchester where the King kept Xmas. |
| 1183 | Exchequer at Westminster. |
| 1184 | „ „ „ |
| „ | Charter dated at the King’s chapel at Westminster. |
| 1185 | “Treasure” conveyed throughout England from Westminster. |
| „ | Plate „ „ „ „ |
| „ | “Treasure” now sent direct to Southampton „ |
| 1186 | „ „ „ „ „ „ |
| „ | New furniture for the Winchester Treasury. |
| 1187 | The Swords of „ „ „ furnished. |
| „ | “Treasure” conveyed abroad from Winchester. |

It must be remembered in connection with the term "Treasure" that two different species of bullion were included therein, namely, coin and plate including regalia and jewels. I have strong reasons for believing that both species were separately hoarded as they undoubtedly were a century later, and that the Winchester treasury was especially designed to accommodate the latter until the middle of this reign, after which date the regalia, &c., were usually deposited in the Abbey of Westminster. The coined treasure on the other hand was throughout received and hoarded at Westminster in the Treasury of the Receipt with the Seal and Records being drafted thence as required into the Camera or Wardrobe. This accounts for no mention being made of regalia or plate in the inventory of this Treasury in the *Dialogus* and I shall be able to show on another occasion that the entire contents of the Abbey Treasury in 1303, valued at £200,000,¹⁵ consisted of plate and jewels.

It may also be gathered from the above notices that there was undoubtedly a central Treasury at Winchester but that in the majority of cases this was used as an emporium in connection with the transport of bullion (and especially the regalia and plate) as

¹⁵ Pike's *History of Crime*.

well as other supplies *via* Southampton or other sea-ports to the Continent during the almost incessant wars of the first twenty years of the reign. After the great rebellion of 1173-4 however a great change seems to have taken place coinciding with the reorganization of the Curia and Exchequer in the interests of the Crown and the prominence of the official element which had its permanent headquarters henceforth at Westminster.¹⁶ Again at the end of the reign on the renewal of the war the Treasury at Winchester was once more utilized, but having fallen into decay it required certain structural repairs and a new plant, while the Treasury swords actually required to be cleansed of the rust which they had contracted during the ten years that the Chamberlains and Clerks had been in permanent residence at Westminster. I do not, however, rely so much upon this view of the position of the Exchequer and its belongings, as upon certain independent notices which seem to me to offer conclusive evidence in favour of the Westminster site during the great part of the reign.

It is evident from the description of the author of the *Dialogus*, himself the King's Treasurer at this time, that the Exchequer and the Treasury were both at one place. Thus he states that there were in the Treasury certain records and regalia which he specifies and which were used in the "daily business of the Exchequer."¹⁷ And again he says in several places and most distinctly that the Great Seal was kept with the above in the Treasury which it never left except when it was carried from the Tower to the Upper Exchequer to be used by the Barons, leading us to suppose that the Treasury was contained in the Receipt.¹⁸ Finally he fixes the position of this Exchequer at Westminster by the mention of a payment for ink for the whole year in both Exchequers made to the Sacristan of St. Peter's, Westminster.¹⁹ We have also the evidence of the Pipe Rolls from the twenty-second year of the reign for the regular allowance of woollen and linen cloth and other furniture for the several chambers of the Exchequer out of the farm of London. Finally there is the unique statement of a suitor of the period verified by the Pipe Rolls that he paid certain sums into the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer in the 11th and 12th and 13th years of the reign, and it can be shown by a curious coincidence that he made these payments at Westminster.²⁰

¹⁶ Stubbs' Preface to *Benedict Abbas* (Rolls Series).

¹⁷ *Dialogus*, i. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, i. 5 ; i. 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, i. 3.

²⁰ *Excheq. T. of R.*, 43.

I have collected many other evidences of the same kind, but like those already mentioned they all point to the same conclusion, namely, that whenever the position of the Exchequer is mentioned, which it rarely is, it will be found to be at Westminster, except on those rare occasions, when, like the Curia, it followed the King. I now come to the remaining point and here I should like to say that I offer an opinion with the greatest diffidence upon the archaeology of Anglo-Norman Westminster. The position of the Exchequer therefore, which I shall attempt to fix, must be looked on as purely conjectural, for although the cumulative evidence in support of it is very strong, we are, I believe, absolutely devoid of any direct allusion to this site before the end of the 13th century.

The original position of the Exchequer chamber seems to have been on the north-east side of Westminster Palace. There is indeed nothing to prove this except the immemorial tradition of the position of the Receipt in that quarter, and the fact of the later transfer of the Exchequer Court to the north-west side of the Hall of Rufus after the incorporation of the Barons' Exchequer with the Common Law Courts. We may assume, however, that the "House of the Exchequer" was situated in the New Palace and not in the Old Palace. The former was admittedly an abortive product of regal ambition extending (in spite of Stow's ambiguous reference) no further than the Great Hall.²¹ This then was used from the first as an official apartment, and before long other buildings of an equally formed character were grouped round it, including, in the middle of the 12th century, a State Chapel and the Exchequer House. On the west side of the Hall of Rufus there may have been some temporary buildings, though it is difficult to conjecture their official use, for the Constabulary and the more domestic offices of the Household dignitaries were probably located in the basement of the old Palace. There was one other building within the precincts of the New Palace, which has a greater interest than any other in connection with the Exchequer. This is the specula, or watch-tower, "near unto the river Thames," in which the author of the *Dialogus* sat when he was "in residence" at Westminster.²² This tower may be with some confidence identified with the Norman structure which formerly abutted on to the east side of the Great Hall. It may possibly be further identified with certain "chambers" which we

²¹ It is not clear whether the Council Chamber (afterwards the Star-Chamber) was part of the original extension of the New Palace here referred to. We first hear of "new houses" on the north-east side under Edw. III.

²² *Dialogus* i., Preface.

know were provided for the convenience of the Barons at a slightly later period. This tower, communicating directly with the official staff of the King's chapel and also with the Curia and Camera in the interior of the Old Palace, and directly overlooking the Exchequer House with its precious contents, is the real key to the position of the ancient Exchequer. The description of this tower as "juxta fluvium" may have been necessary to distinguish it from another tower at the south-west angle of the old Palace walls, being indeed the point furthest removed from the river, and which might be described in contra-distinction to the other as "juxta ecclesiam." The restored building of the Confessor was in Norman and Angevin times the residential portion of the Palace of Westminster. This contained the King's houses, that is to say a suite of "chambers," on the first floor, as the name implies being placed over the low vaulted "cellars" which were then probably used as such, and as the offices of the several household functionaries. The kitchens and stables and slaughter-house, &c., were more probably distinct from this block which formed the east wing of the Old Palace. The communication between the old and new Palaces was apparently at the north end of the same wing, but the direct route from one enclosure to the other was no doubt by a path or covered way from the north-east side of the old or white hall. This gave access to the gardens and the river equally, or by passing through the west door of the Chapel to the Watch Tower and Exchequer House and the south-east side of the New Palace yard. But whatever may have been the exact situation of the Exchequer House we are enabled to form a fairly good idea of its interior plan from the description of the *Dialogus*.

Here we have a superior and an inferior Exchequer, both apparently contained in the same building, for though the appellation of Upper and Lower may have been merely used to designate their respective importance, we cannot ignore the descriptive sense of those terms where majus and parvum would otherwise have seemed more appropriate: and, indeed, we find that the Upper Exchequer is also called majus (just as its officers were called majores) when it was desired to describe its importance rather than its position. Moreover, there are several references in the *Dialogus* and elsewhere to the Exchequer House (*Domus Scaccarii*) as a single building. In the account of the trial of the Pyx given in the above-mentioned work, we also find that the Assayer carried the Pyx, containing the sample coins selected by him from the heaps undergoing the process of counting and weighing in the Receipt,

from the Lower to the Upper Exchequer, and after the coins had been examined, and the Pyx sealed by the Barons, he returned, as it would appear, accompanied by the overseers nominated on both sides once more to the Receipt, where the Smelter, "forewarned" of their approach, had fanned his furnace to the necessary heat. Then, as soon as the operation was fairly accomplished, the party returned to the Upper Chamber to weigh the molten silver in the presence of the Barons. Each Exchequer was probably divided into two chambers, the upper containing the Court-Room and Council Chamber, and the lower a Counting-House, also used as a Scriptorium, and a Treasury. There were two Ushers or Door-keepers, the principal one of whom held a quasi-hereditary office in the Upper Exchequer. It was his duty to admit only those who had business to the "outer chamber," and none but the Barons to the "inner chamber." It is significant that throughout the reign we find this officer paid out of the farm of London. The Usher of the Receipt was specially charged with the custody of the Treasury door, and he also provided all the necessary implements at a fixed rate, including ink, purchased by him from the Sacristan of Westminster. Especial emphasis is laid in the *Dialogus* on the fact that unlike every other member of the Exchequer, the Usher of the Upper Barons' chamber (who was employed at the close of the session in serving the new summonses on the Sheriffs), the Usher of the Receipt was employed as a permanent domestic servant of the Treasurer and Chamberlains. This is a proof that the Exchequer Treasury formed a permanent department at Westminster, and thus disposes of the suggestion that after the session the officers of the Exchequer were transferred to Winchester, together with the contents of the Treasury. It was probably also the duty of the senior Usher to see that the Barons' chambers were duly swept and aired during the recess, for we read that he was assisted in his duties by the servants of his family. In a record of the fifth year of Edward II. we read that the Barons sent for the two ushers of the Exchequer at Westminster before the recess, and directed them as to special precautions to be taken for the custody of its contents, and this later notice may be fairly considered as explanatory of the earlier practice indicated in the *Dialogus*.

It will not perhaps be necessary to multiply instances of this nature. I have carefully refrained from attempting to trace anything more beyond the bare outline of the position of the Exchequer at Westminster, fearing to lessen the value of the authentic evidence available, however meagre, by combination with the more copious,

but hopelessly confused details which exist from the thirteenth century onwards, when, through disastrous fires and ambitious schemes of reconstruction, the external position and internal arrangements of the ancient houses were changed beyond all hope of recognition. The nature of the principal changes that were made in the official economy of the Royal Exchequer can, however, be roughly ascertained, and will be found to consist in the complete separation of the Barons' Chamber, now dignified with the real instead of the honorary appellation of a Court, from the Lower Exchequer, and its removal to more commodious premises on the opposite side of the Great Hall. The Receipt, however, still retained its ancient site until comparatively recent times, now occupying, apparently, both floors of the Exchequer House, and administered by an augmented and more dignified official staff, but retaining with the new establishment all the ancient usages and practice of the old, so that at the present day we are able to verify the descriptions of the *Dialogus* from existing records, whether of the Queen's Remembrancer or the Lord Treasurer's, whether of the Exchequer Court or the Treasury of the Receipt.

Such was the position of the Exchequer at Westminster as I have liked to figure it to myself from the time of Chaplain Roger to that of Archdeacon Swereford. On another occasion I hope to be able to discuss its subsequent evolution, and especially to explore the mine of archæological material which underlies one of the most romantic episodes of the Middle Ages—the great robbery of the Treasury in 1303—together with a later and hitherto unnoticed crime of the same nature in the reign of good Queen Bess.

HUBERT HALL.

NOTES ON JEWS FROM THE PIPE ROLLS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE historic interest attaching to the early Treasury accounts contained in the Pipe Rolls is too well known to require any description from me. "The whole framework of English society," says Bishop Stubbs, "passed annually under the review of the Exchequer," and the Pipe Rolls are the record of that survey. We learn above all how the Kings of England obtained the sinews of

war and peace and thus raised themselves to that commanding position which did so much to make England England before any other country in Europe had attained national unity. Among the main instruments by which the astute Norman and Angevin Kings obtained financial predominance, was the usury of the Jews, which performed the function of a sponge, sucking up the spare cash of the larger and smaller barons and of the smaller monasteries, and then being squeezed dry on suitable occasions into the King's Exchequer. The comparative importance of this source of income was shown conspicuously 33 Hen. II., when £60,000 was obtained from the Jews of England against £70,000 from the rest of the King's subjects. (see Nos. 71-82.)

I have, therefore, thought it would be interesting and useful to collect and arrange chronologically the many Jewish items to be found in the Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth century, so far as these are in existence.¹ I have stopped at 1 John (1199-1200), as by that time a special branch of the Exchequer was fully organised as "the Exchequer of the Jews." Of this some account is given in Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, ch. vi., and Dr. Gross has recently described its organisation and functions in a masterly way.² I shall be content if the following items serve to throw some light on the relation of the Jews to the Exchequer before they were fully organised by the *Capitula de Judæis*, 5 Ric. I., and thus prepare the way for Dr. Gross's investigations, which only begin with the thirteenth century.

I have annotated each item so as to bring out the points of interest, and I would here only remark that the Exchequer was enriched by nearly every piece of business done by a Jew or Jewess. Whether he wished to recover a debt from a Christian or get justice done to his son, if he transgressed the law or wanted to know what it was, if he wished to enter into partnership with a Jew or proceed against him, if he wished to cross the sea or remain in England, if he wished to wed or not to wed, even if he wished to be divorced, he had to pay a fine to the King. Above all his death was a windfall to the Treasury; either all his debts were seized and sold to other Jews or retained in the King's hands, or his heirs had to pay a fine for a fair share of his moneys.³ Besides this general interest, the items throw light on the personal relations of the Jews of the

¹ See preliminary note to the items.

² "The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages," in *Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition* ("Jewish Chronicle" Office, 1888).

³ It is but fair to add that the early Kings of England were equally all-grasping towards their other subjects. See a similar enumeration in Miss Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. i., p. 27.

time, their names and relationship and social customs. I have endeavoured to call attention to these and other points in my annotations.

PIPE ROLLS—31 Hen. I. (1130-1)—1 John (1199-1200).

[Those for 31 Hen. I., 2, 3, 4, Hen. II., 1 Ric. I. have been published by Rev. J. Hunter for the Record Commission, 5-12 Hen. II. by the Pipe Roll Society. I have gone through the remaining Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth Century at the Record Office. Some of the items have been already given by Madox's *History of Exchequer*. I quote generally from the quarto edition in two vols. A few references without Roman numerals are from the folio edition. Other items I found in Bishop Stubbs' edition of Hoveden, pref. to vol. III., and Madox's MS. materials in the British Museum, *Add. MS.* 4542.]

- 1.—And the same Richard son of Gilbert owes 200 marks of silver for the help which the King gave him against the Jews about his debts. 31 Hen. I., Essex, M 296. [The King gained in two ways by helping Christian debtor against Jewish creditor as here, or *vice versa* as Nos. 4, 5, and *passim*.]
- 2.—Jacob the Jew and his wife render count of 60 marks of silver for the plea which was between them and the men of Westminster Abbey. They quit themselves to the King by King's writ. 31 Hen. I., Lond. p. 146.
- 3.—The Jews of London render account of £2000 for the sick man whom they killed. In the treasury £620, and by payments by King's writ to Rubi gotsce 100 marks of silver and to Manasser the Jew 80 marks of silver and 64 shillings and twopence . . . for William son of . . . and to Abraham the Jew 15 marks of silver and again to Rubi gotsce 80 marks of silver and they owe £1166 13s. 4d. 31 Hen. I., 15a (M i. 229). [An enormous sum; probably some charge of magic was involved. Rubi gotsce—Rabbi Joce or Joseph: his son was Isaac fil Rabbi the chief English Jew in Ric. I.'s time. Rymer; *Federa*, i., 51 (ed. 1816)].
- 4.—Rubi Gotisce and other Jews to whom Earl Ranulf was indebted, owe 10 marks of gold for that the King might help them to recover their debts against the earl. 31 Hen. I., 15a Lond. (M i. 227).
- 5.—Abraham and Deuslesalt, Jews, render account of one mark of gold that they might recover their debts against Osbert de Leicester. 31 Hen. I., 15a Lond. (M i. 227). [Deuslesalt=Dieu le saut=Isaiah.]
- 6.—Richard son of William renders count of 20 shillings for a slain Jew. 2 Hen. II., r 2, m 2, Canteb.
- 7.—Sheriff of Oxfordshire renders count of 100 shillings from the donum of the Jews. 2 Hen. II. 2, 7 m. 1.
- 8.—And [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Isaacs the Jew son of Rabb. £47 6s. 8d. 3 Hen. II. r. 1 m. 1. Essex. [The son of the Rubi gotsce of No. 3, henceforth he is mentioned simply as Isaac the Jew except in Ric. I.'s charter where he again occurs as "Ysaac fil Rabi Joce."]
- 9.—The Sheriff of London renders count of 200 marks for the Jews. The Sheriff of Lincolnshire renders count of £40 for the Jews. The Sheriff of Oxfordshire renders count of 20 marks for the Jews. The Sheriff of Cambridge renders count of 50 marks from the donum of the Jews. The Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk renders count of £44 6s. 8d. for the Jews of Norwich, £30 for the Jews of Thetford, £15 for the Jews of Bungay. 5 Hen. II. 5b. 8a. 2a. [These were probably all the communities of Jews in England (M. i. 222) though we find isolated individuals at Newport and Canterbury in Richard of Anesty's accounts of his borrowings about this time. Palgrave *Engl. Common.* vol. ii., also at Winchester see next No.]

- 10.—Gentill the Jewess owes £15 for that she may not wed a Jew. 6 Hen. II. 6^b. Winton. [She pays it next year.]
- 11.—William of the Isle renders count of the ferm of Lincolnshire . . . and [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Aaron the Jew £29 8s. 10d., which are counted to him in the ferm of the county and owes £12 4s. 9d. He renders count of the same debt in the treasury £2 6s. 9d. new money for £2 4s. 9d. blank money, and £10 in two tallies, and is quits. 12 Hen. II. Rot. i. mem. i. Linc. [The great Aaron of Lincoln, see Nos. 24, 42, 56, 70. In other parts of the same roll the Sheriffs of Norfolk, Yorkshire, Hants, Essex, Rutland, Cambridge, Oxford, and Bucks claim similar credit for sums paid to him amounting in all to £587 3s. 10d.]
- 12.—Hubert de Lalega and Richard fil Osbert render count of £4 13s. 11d. blank of the old form of Bucks and Bedford, and £17 10s. new money [Cr.] By payment by King's writ to Isaac the Jew £4 18s. 7d. new money and £0 13s. 11d. blank. And to the same £17 10s. 0d. new, and are quits. 12 Hen. II. Rot. i. mon. ii. [Son of Rabbi Jooce *vide* Nos. 3, 4, 8, 22, 24. The Sheriffs of Kent, Northampton, Gloucester, Dorset, Essex, Bucks, Oxford, Lancashire, Norfolk, Cambridge, Devon, Hants, claim similar credits in other parts of the roll for sums amounting in all to £743 13s. 10d., the cash balance of their ferm. In 8 Hen. II., the amount was £102 13s. 4d., in 9 Hen. II. £26 16s. 8d., in 10 Hen. II. only £12 11s. 3d. In 14 Hen. II. the honor of Eye settles with the King by payment to Isaac of the large sum of £479.]
- 13.—Abraham fil Rabbi owes £2000 for an amerciament. The King orders that nothing more be exacted from him for this Roll but let them be erased from the roll by his own writ. 12 Hen. II. 10^b. [A brother of Ysaac fil Rabbi of preceding No. The sum is enormous=probably £100,000 at the present day.]
- 14.—Samson, Jew, son of Samuel, owes 3 marks of gold for a writ to have his debts, but is not to be found. 14 Hen. II. [The entry is repeated 16 Hen. II., with the addition "But he has fled to France." The full entry is kept in the rolls of the 18th, 19th, and 21st years. It is clear that Samson had "done" the King by first getting a writ to collect his debts and then decamping to France without paying the £18 (of silver) which he owed the Treasury.]
- 15.—Comitissa Jewess of Cambridge and her sons and the Jews of Lincoln render an account of 7 marks of gold for the Lincoln Jewess whom a son of Comitissa married without the King's license. 15 Hen. II. 12^b. Lond. and Midd. [A son David fil Comitissa is mentioned 6 Hen. II. 5^a. Canteb., and another, Isaac, 25 Hen. II., see No. 33.]
- 16.—Josce Jew of Gloucester owes 100 shillings for an amerciament for the moneys which he lent to those who against the King's prohibition went over to Ireland. 16 Hen. II. 5^b. (M. 379).
- 17.—Benedict Jew of Norwich, son of Deodatus, renders account of £20 for the sacred vestments which he took in pawn. 16 Hen. II. Nori. and Suff. [Paid the following year M. i. 228.]
- 18.—Adam de Cathemen renders count of lxxvj. s and viii. pence from the money of Hugh Orb an usurer. 16 Hen. II. 5^b. Berks.
- 19.—The same sheriff renders count of 12s. 8d. from the chattels of Radulf de Valle an usurer. 17 Hen. II. 6^b. Warn. [There are other entries relating to Christian usurers or usurers Cf. Madox 237. It is a moot point whether Jewish chattels did not belong to the King on the death of Jews *quid* usurers not *quid* Jews.]
- 20.—The Jews of Cambridge owe half a mark of gold for having an agreement amongst themselves. 18 Hen. II. Canteb. [They pay next year. This probably refers to some important case brought before the *Beth-Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal of the Jews at Cambridge. Cf. Nos. 34, 50, 75, John confirmed to the Jews a charter legalising such tribunals. Rot. Cart. i. 93.]
- 21.—Jacob, Jew of Newport, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold, for a plea between him and William de Muntfichet. In the treasury 60s. and owes 60s. 18 Hen. II. Essex and Hertf. [Pays and is quits. 20 Hen. II.]
- 22.—Jurnet, Jew of Norwich, and Isaac son of Rabbi, owe 4 marks gold that the King may grant a partnership between them of their chattels. 21 Hen. II. Lond. and Midd. [The entry remains till 29 Hen. II., when it is added "but they could not yet have it (the partnership)." Cf. No. 39.]

- 23.—Avigay, who was the wife of Jacob, owes 200 marks to have custody of her boys. 21 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [Pays 22 Hen. II. by King's writ to Edmund Blund. This Avigay (Abigail) is frequently mentioned in the transactions of the time, and her son Abraham became one of the chief men of the London community.]
- 24.—(The Sheriff accounts for the ferm of the counties) And [Cr.] by [payment by King's writ to Aaron of Lincoln and Ysaac Jew, £80. 22 Hen. II. Dorset and Somerset. [The Sheriff of Northumberland pays in a similar way £68, the balance of the ferm to the same two Jews who, as we have seen above (Nos. 11, 12), were unofficial ferm gatherers. See also No. 30.]
- 25.—Richard Malebyse renders count (and is quits) of 100s. for his relief. 22 Hen. II. Honour of Eye. [He was the ringleader of the York massacre. It seems that he was getting into money troubles 15 years before.]
- 26.—Serfdeu, Jew, owes 10 marks gold [£60 silver] for having the debts of his father. 22 Hen. II., Hantesc. [Pays and is quits, 23 Hen. II. This is a common form of entry. Thus next year Ursell accounts to the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk for 10 marks for the same.]
- 27.—Cresselin the Jew owes one mark of gold to have seisin of the land which Adam de Port of Wales had mortgaged to him. 22 Hen. II., Hantesc. [Repeated 23 Hen. II. and in 26 Hen. II., with the addition, "But he has not got it," which is probably explained by the next entry in which Adam de Port accounts for 2000 marks as a fine for his land. Cresselin is a diminutive of Deulecresse, see No. 80.]
- 28.—Cresselin, Jew of Winchester, renders count of 100 marks for an amercia-ment. Cr. by king's writ to Cresselin himself of 100 marks for 100 bezants which he had paid to the king himself. 23 Hen. II., Sudhantesc. [The King had "let him off" considerably as a bezant was only 2s. a mark, 13s. 4d. Cf. Nos. 27, 39, 69.]
- 29.—Jurnet Jew renders count of 2000 marks in which he was fined by the King at Winchester on his crossing the straits. Benedict the Jew renders count of £500 of the fine which he made to the King on his crossing for an amercia-ment. Josce Quatrebuches renders count of £200 for the same. Brun the Jew renders account of 3000 marks for the same. 23 Hen. II. 11b. (M. i. 226.) [Josce Quatrebuches pays next year. Jurnet owes £266 12s. 3d. then and £26 later. Benedict only owes £4. 25 Hen. II. Brun still owes £400 of this. 27 Hen. II. *rot ult.* and £20 of that 29 Hen. II. 13 Qy. was this the occasion when Henry took the richest Jews over to Normandy till a certain tallage was paid?]
- 30.—The Sheriff renders count of the ferm of Devonshire, he pays [the cash balance of] 7 marks to Benedict son of Sara and Moyses and Deodatus the Bishop and Vives Jews. 23 Hen. II., Devonesc. [The same firm receive similar cash balances this year from the Sheriffs of Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Oxfordshire, and the honours of Boseham and Conan and the Jews of London, amounting in all to £1003 5s. 1d., practically all the spare cash owed to the King. Josce of York renders in similar way 26 marks from Oxford, and another firm consisting of Brun, Josce Quatrebuches, Jurnet, and Benedict Jurnet's brother (see No. 29) receive £100 from Southampton. The same applies to the two following years. The King doubtless found it more convenient to have a banking account with the Jews on which he could draw instead of draining the counties of ready-money, while the Jews could make arrangements for local Jews to receive the Sheriffs' balances and lay out the money in loans to the neighbourhood. At least this is how I interpret these items as well as Nos. 11, 12, 24.]
- 31.—And [Cr.] by payments by writ of Richard de Luci to Deodatus Bishop of the Jews and Benedict son of Sara and Mosse his brother and Vivo Jews, £84 12s. 24 Hen. II. 9b. Lond. and Midd. (M. ii. 206.) [Deodatus=Elchanan, 'Bishop of the Jews,' i.e., one of the *Dayanim* or ecclesiastical assessors who adjudicate on ritual and other questions among Jews even to the present day in all Jewish communities.]
- 32.—Mosse the Jew owes 5 marks for right to 11 marks and 4 shillings against Henry de Minar and to 10 marks against Hugh de Bellocampo. 25 Hen. II., Hereford.
- 33.—Benedict brother of Aaron and Benedict son of Isaach and Benedict son of Jacob render count of £6 for one mark of gold to be quits of the pledges of Isaach son of Comitissa. 25 Hen. II., City of Lincoln. [This Isaach is

- probably the very son of Comitissa of Cambridge for whose marriage a fine was paid 15 Hen. II. (see No. 15). He was himself the father of R. Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah (=Comitissa), the author of the Hebrew "Onyx Book," the most important literary production of the early Jews of England. Moses would thus be born about 1170 and would have met Isaac of Tchernigoff (see No. 41) when he was about 12-15 years old. Moses died somewhere before 1215. Stow gives the inscription on his tombstone. (*Survey of London*, ed. Thoms, p. 15)].
- 34.—Benedict the Jew owes three marks to have respite in the plea between him and Moyses the Jew. 26 Hen. I., Boreham. [Disputes between Jews were generally settled before their own *Beth-Din*; there was a threat of excommunication against those who applied to the Gentile courts.]
- 35.—Abraham, Jew of Coventry, owes one mark to be quits of the appeal of Beleazez [Jewess of Oxford, see No. 38.]. 26 Hen. II. Lond. [This debt has to be seen to by the Sheriff of Warwickshire. 28 Hen. II. Abraham had returned from London to his native place.]
- 36.—Nicholas the convert owes half a mark for a default. 26 Hen. II. Chent. [Conversion of Jews began early; we find references to them *temp.* Will. Rufus., and there is an interesting letter of Anselm about one.]
- 37.—Jeremias the Jew renders count of one mark for Isabella the convert whom he personated. Quits. 26 Hen. II. Bucks. [Converts lost all their property which escheated to the King on conversion. Jeremiah had probably attempted to save something in the case of Isabella.]
- 38.—Beleazez, Jewess of Oxford (renders count) owes £100 for having respite in the plea between her and the clerk of the Count of Ferrars. 26 Hen. II. Oxinef.
- 38.—From the pleas of the Court. Samuel the Jew owes 5 marks of gold as an amercement for a Bill of Divorce. 26 Hen. II., 6b Norham. (M i. 227).
- 39.—Cresselin Jew owes 3 marks silver to have licence for a concord with Jornet, his sister's son. 27 Hen. II. Sudhants. [The King claimed to be compensated for debts to firms which would not escheat to him on the death of a member of it as would be the case with debts to individuals.]
- 40.—Piers [?] Dulesalt, Jew of Exeter, renders count of 10 marks that the King might take charge of his boys. 27 Hen. II. Devenesc.
- 41.—Ysaac of Rochester, and Ysaac of Russia, and Ysaac of Beverley, Jews, render count of 10 marks to be quit of a charge that they were said to have exchanged (*cambivisse*), 27 Hen. II., Sudhantesc. [This Isaac of Russia, possibly the first Russian in historic times who put foot on English soil, is referred to by R. Moses ben Isaac in his "Onyx Book" in the following way:—"R. Iza of Tchernigoff told me that in the tongue of Tiraz, i.e. Russia, they call a brother-in-law *Beleia*." Cf. Harkavy, *Die Juden und die slavischen Sprachen* (Heb.), p. 62.]
- 42.—Brun the Jew owes £400 of the fine he made with the King at his transference. But they ought to be required from Aaron of Lincoln and Ysaac and Abraham, son of Rabbi, and Ysaac of Colchester, his sureties, who have acknowledged that they received those £400 from his chattels in old money and paid it to the servants of the King in presence of Wm. Rufus. Brun owes £40 for the deficiency of the aforesaid £400. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [See No. 29. The old money was depreciated 10 per cent. and Brun still owes the amount of the depreciation. He never pays it.]
- 43.—Benedict, son of Josce Quatrebuches, owes 40 marks that the King may hear his plea against Abraham Jew of London, and if it does not concern him that nothing more may apply to him. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd.
- 44.—Benedict the Jew of Norwich owes 500 marks because he was present at a concord made touching the King's peace and of these 300 are that he might have peace for his chattels that he sold to Aaron and Abraham and Isaac of Colchester and to Joce of York. 28 Hen. II., Nordf. [He still owes £40 13s. 4d. in 31 Hen. II. On the Colchester Jews mentioned here see chap. in Cutts' *Colchester* ("Historic Towns"), contributed by present writer. Joce was the head of the York community and began the celebrated massacre in 1190.]
- 45.—Hakelin son of Josce Quatrebuches £28 15s. 8d. that he may be quits for the soldier whom he struck. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [Qy. was Adam de Colebrooke the soldier, see following No.]

- 46.—Josce Quatrebuche owes 40 marks that his son Hakelin might be dealt with according to justice in the Plea between him and Adam de Colebrooke. 28 Hen. II. [See preceding number. Is this a case of two birds with one stone ?]
- 47.—Abraham, Jew, son of Rabbi, owes 40 marks and four horns of which the fourth shall be worth more than the three. 28 Hen. II., Lond. [I quote this for its quaintness. Might the horns be the sacred ones used by Jews on their New Year's Day ?]
- 48.—Benedict, Jew of Canterbury, renders count of 20 marks because he had demanded a debt on account of his brother by his charter which had been paid to him. Ysaac the Jew renders count of 20 marks because he denied what he had said before in the King's court. Jacob and Ysâc of Canterbury owe one mark of gold for having the debt which Folquier Folet owed them. 29 Hen. II., Chent.
- 49.—Debts to the King from beyond the sea by writ of Will Ralphson. Josce, son of Abraham, owes half a mark of gold for right to a debt against Richard de Verdun, another half mark against William de Rouen, and 2½ marks against William de Trouville and Thomas de Briancon. 29 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [The debtors seem to be Normans, and it would appear that they were collected in Normandy by the King's officials.]
- 50.—Josce Salvage renders count of 10 marks for a respite of the pleas between the Jews of Lincoln on the surety of Aaron the Jew. [And twelve others do the same for several amounts amounting in all to 43 marks.] 29 Hen. II., Linc.
- 51.—Benedict, brother of Aaron, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold to have in peace his mortgage of Barewe. Benedict, son of Ysaac, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold to have his mortgage of Ealing. Abraham, son of Aaron, owes £6 for one mark of gold to have his debts. 29 Hen. II. Linc.
- 52.—Peytevin of Eye owes one mark of gold to have custody of the son of Jacob of Newport, together with his chattels, and to have the debts and mortgages for the purposes of the said Jacob. 29 Hen. II.
- 53.—Sancto, Jew of Edmundsbury, renders account of 5 marks to be acquitted of taking in pledge vessels appointed for the service of the altar. 29 Hen. II., 2b Nordf. and Suff. (M i. 226). [Cf. No. 18. There is a reference to this in Joce de Brakelond's *Chronica*, p. 2 and note 106.]
- 54.—The same sheriff renders count of 3 marks of Regina the Jewess for the debt which Walter of Westbury owed her and one mark from the same period for the debt which Ralph de Chinton and William son of Richard owed her. He has paid into the treasury in two tallies and is quits. 29 Hen. II., Oxford (M i. 233). [Cf. Nos. 4-5. Regina probably paid by two tallies carrying indebtedness to her which now passes to the King, thus becoming bills of exchange.]
- 55.—Maneser Jew of Ipswich owes 4 ounces of gold for having his rights of 20 marks against William of Verdun and Bertram his brother. Duzelina widow of Mosse with the Nose ["Nosey Moses"] owes 5 marks for having the debts of her husband on the surety of Jacob the Priest and Sanson his brother.
Abraham of Norwich owes 1 mark for a right to 6 marks with interest against Hugh de Oisi. Solomon of Ipswich owes one mark for certain seven marks which he might claim against Hugh de la Hosi. Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes £270 6s. 8d. of the amerciamment which remained of the amerciamment of 6000 marks. 29 Hen. II., Nordf. and Sudf. [Cf. No. 67.]
- 56.—Brun the Jew renders count of £1000 out of the 2000 marks of the fine he made with the King at Waltham and of which Aaron of Lincoln has to answer for 500 marks. 30 Hen. II., Lond.
- 57.—Samuel the Jew renders count of two marks of gold to have the house which he bought but which Peter Adamson deprived him of. Peter fil Adam renders count of £10 because he bought the house which Samuel the Jew had bought and this is prohibited. Bonenfant the Jew renders count of 10 marks for having the pledges which he had given for the aforesaid house. 30 Hen. II., Norhantese. [The three entries tell their own story. Bonenfant, who pays the highest fine, had sold to Peter fil Adam a house really belonging to Samuel (see next No.). The King draws advantage from all three parties.]
- 58.—Samuel, Jew of Northampton, owes one mark for Margaret, Jewess of

- London, to have licence for an agreement of marriage of his son and Margaret's daughter. 30 Hen. II., Norhantese. [See preceding No.]
- 59.—Solomon of Gipeswich [Ipswich] owes one mark for certain 7 marks for which he may distrain against Hugh de la Hose. 30 Hen. II., Nowf. and Sundf.
- 60.—Solomon and Jacob, Jews of Bedford, owe 3 marks for right to six marks and 3 shillings against William Williamson. [The King gets a huge proportion of the debt, but in 33 Hen. II., it is added, "but he (William) is dead, and has neither land nor heir," so that neither king nor Jews get anything]. 31 Hen. II., Beds.
- 61.—Josce le Salvage owes 2 marks for right to 7 marks against Ralph of Cornwall of the debt of Nigel de Flobose. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [Ralph was probably Nigel's security for that sum. Observe the large proportion of the debt gained by the King when it came before the courts of justice. This entry is followed by several others of Lincoln Jews claiming debts.]
- 62.—Jacob, sister's son of Aaron and Benedict his son owe one mark of gold because they kept back the charters of Benedict of the Bail which had been acquitted on the surety of [name illegible]. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [They pay next year. See next entry.]
- 63.—Benedict of the Bail owes 4 bezants for him, and for fat Manasser, and Vives son of Deulecresse, and Josce son of Samuel, to have their charters from Benedict son of Jacob, and from Jacob sister's son of Aaron. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [See preceding entry.]
- 64.—Benedict, son of Aaron, owes 20 marks for right to £4 8s. 8d. against Meus Jew of Lincoln. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [Benedict does not seem to gain much by his action having to pay four times as much as the debt.]
- 65.—Bonefey, Jew of Worcester, owes one mark gold for a respite to the King's court of the amerciament for a novel disseisin. 31 Hen. II., Wiresces. [One of many proofs that Jews could hold land.]
- 66.—Copin the Jew of St. Edmunds owes 20 marks to have right to the chattels which Slemma his mother committed to Santo the Jew. 31 Hen. II., 3b. [Jewesses are frequently mentioned as doing business. See Nos. 15, 23, and 54. Santo has appeared before, see No. 53.]
- 67.—The Jews of England owe 5525 marks and a half for the amerciament of Jurnet of Norwich whose charters they have for acquitting the same. 32 Hen. II., (M i. 227). [He had been amerced in 6000 marks: he takes up 474½ marks and hands over all his deeds to the community who must therefore have been incorporated in some way by this date. He probably left England at this date, and returns 35 Hen. II. See No. 55, *ad fin.* Jurnet was probably deprived of all his possessions for having married a Christian heiress, Miryld, daughter of Humphrey de Havile, who also echeated her lands. See Blomefield *Norfolk* iv. 510.]
- 68.—Benedict, Jew of Rochester, renders count of one mark of gold for having his deeds which the Sheriff holds. 32 Hen. II., Chent.
- 69.—Cresselin the Jew owes one mark for having seisin of the lands of Bosinton and Mapledore Well. 32 Hen. II., Sudhants. [Continued to 2 Ric. I. when it is added "but he is dead and has no right."]
- 70.—And to Helyas Ostiar [the Usher] one mark for carrying summons through England about the debts of Aaron and to the same 12d. for wax for sealing the same summons. 33 Hen. II., 3b. [Aaron's treasures were also seized and were lost on crossing the channel. *Benedict the Abbot*, ed. Stubbs, ii., p. 5. Aaron's debts were so numerous as to require a special branch of the Exchequer to look after them. Even after many of the debts had been paid the King held nearly £5000 worth of them 15 years later. Helyas was the regular 'sompnour' of the Exchequer (M. 719).]
- 71.—Of the debts of the Jews we take no account for the present because our Lord the King has taken a quarter of their chattels. 33 Hen. II., 3b (M i. 222). [They were therefore valued at £240,000 against £700,000 for the rest of England. See note to No. 82.]
- 72.—Jacob Aaron's sister's son renders count of 20 marks for an amerciament for taking off a priest's cap and for the deed of Gerard de Saily. 33 Hen. II., Lincoln.
- 73.—Benjamin and Josce and Deulecresse, sons of Benjamin, owe 2 marks of gold for having their reasonable part of the debts and chattels of their father. 34 Hen. II., Oxinef.

- 75.—The Jews of Exeter render count of one mark gold for a fine for pleas which were between them in common. 34 Hen. II., Devenes.
- 76.—Mosse fil Benedict owes 15s. for one ounce of gold for his rights to the chattels of his father against Lia Jewess and her sons. But he cannot be found. 34 Hen. II., Glocest.
- 77.—Jheremias, Jew of Dunestaple, renders count of £12 for 2 marks of gold because he could not convict the charter of Leo for falsity. Quits. 34 Hen. II., Devenes.
- 78.—Josce, son of Morell, owes 46 marks for having right to the debt which Robert de Vallibus owed to his father. 34 Hen. II., Nordf.
- 79.—Benedict, son of Josce Sorel, owes 2 marks because he did not keep the fine which he made with Brun the son of Benedict the soldier [a Jew], on which Abraham son of Rabbi holds security. Benedict of Rising owes 20 marks for having his reasonable part of his own chattels and debts. 34 Hen. II., Glocestre.
- 80.—Deulecresse, Jew of Finchelesfield, renders count of 20 marks for waste and purprestures. 34 Hen. II., Essex and Hertford. [Deulecresse=*Deus-cum crescat*=*Heb.* Gedaliah.]
- 81.—Deulecresse of Rising son of Benedict owes 2 marks for having his reasonable part of the lands and chattels of his father-in-law. 34 Hen. II., Nordf.
- 82.—Of the aforesaid debts of the Jews we take no account at present because of the Tallage which our Lord the King is taking from them. 34 Hen. II., 2a (M. i. 222). [Cf. No. 71. It was on this occasion that the Jews of England contributed £60,000 against £70,000 as tenths from the rest of the King's subjects: Gervase of Cant., i. 222. The "aforesaid debts" only refer to some in London.]
- 83.—Leo Jew of London owes 4 marks for licence to come to terms with Deulebenie of Chichester. Lond., 35 Hen. II. [Deu-le-benie=*Heb.* Berachjah for which Benedictus is also used.]
- 84.—Deulebenie Jew of Chichester owes 5 marks for licence to come to terms with Leo Jew of London. ib. Sudsex. [Two birds with one stone.]
- 85.—Samarias the Jew owes 11 marks for having the mortgages and debts of Helyas his son who is dead. 35 Hen. II. Devenes. [Next year it is added "But he has not yet had either debt or mortgage."]
- 86.—Lia Jewess of Bristol owes 10 bizants for having an agreement between her and her children drawn up in presence of the Jews, and 20 marks for having her fair share of the chattels and debts of Benedict her husband. 35 Hen. II. Glouc. [Lia=Leah.]
- 87.—Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes 1800 marks for having residence in England with the goodwill of the King. (M. i. 228.) 35 Hen. II. Nordf. and Sudf. [He probably returned to England at this time. Cf. No. 67.]
- 88.—Isaac of Hich owes 9 marks for not being prosecuted but he is not to be found. 35 Hen. II., Essex. [The entry occurs again 5 Ric. I. where Isaac is still left owing.]
- 89.—Ysaac son of Rabbi owes £200 that he may be quit of the whole tallage that King Henry [the King's] father made at Guildford on taking up the Cross and of which he should pay £100 on the Sunday when they sing "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," and of the rest £30 per annum till those £100 are quite paid off. 35 Hen. II., Lond.
- 90.—Abraham son of Rabbi owes 2 ounces of gold that he might be recognised [as owner?] of the land of Malesward which Robert Cusin seeks and that the summons before the justices errant may come before the Chief Justiciar. 36 Hen. II., Lond. [There is a subtle touch of irony in the choice of a Sunday on which the Jew has to pay up.]
- 91.—Benedict the Jew owes 3 marks because he detained the rents of his lord. The same Sheriff renders count of 9 marks of the community of the Jews. 1 Ric. I., Sudhants. [Each entry offers an interesting problem. What was the exact relation of a Jew and "his lord"? How far and in what way were the Jewish "communities" organised and recognised by the government?]
- 92.—Abraham son of Avigay owes one mark of gold because it is not contained in his deed from the Count of Arundel that the Manor of Rowell is his mortgage as it ought to have been. 1 Ric. I. [Avigay=Abigail.]
- 93.—Josce son of Benjamin of Oxford owes 10 marks for an amerciament for

- treasure trove of gold which he bought without the consent of justice. *ib.* Oxenford.
- 94.—Slema Jewess of St. Edmund owes 20 marks for right to her debts and pledges. Jumet Jew of Norwich owes 6 marks for right to thirty pounds against Benjamin of Oxford. 1 Ric. I., 3b Nordf. and Sudf.
- 95.—Samuel de Stanford owes 10 marks for having his debts against William de Colville. But he is dead and his chattels and pledges are in the King's hand. *Ibid.* 4b Linc. [Cf. No. 164.]
- 96.—For hiring carriage to carry Jews of York to London 8s. *Ibid.* 5a. Evenvich. [They were not all killed then.]
- 97.—Brun the Jew owes £350 of the amerciamment of 2000 marks for which he made fine with the King at Waltham.
Aaron Jew of Lincoln, Abraham son of Rabbi and Isaac of Colchester owe £400 of the chattels of Brun the Jew which they received in old money of the fine which he made with the King at his crossing over the straits. 1 Ric. I., Lond. and Weston.
- 98.—Benedict son of Jacob owes 2 ounces of gold that his case may be heard in the King's court between him and Deodatus and Jacob Jewa. *ib.* Lincoln.
- 99.—Of the proceeds of the lands and chattels of the men who fled on account of the assault on the Jews in the city of York. *Ibid.* Everw. [William of Newbury mentions that they fled to Scotland.]
- 99a.—Samuel, Jew of Newcastle, owes 20 marks because he called a warrant which he could not have. 2 Ric. I., Nordhumb.
- 99b.—Cresselin, Jew, owes 40s. for right to £11 against the Abbess of Ramsey. 2 Ric. I., Sudhants. [“But he is dead and has no right” it is added in the following entry.]
- 100.—Debts of the Jews for the Guildford Tallage placed by the chancellor on the roll. Isaac son of Rabbi [Joce] renders count of £200 of the arrears of the Tallage of Guildford for which he made fine with the Chancellor to pay £30 per annum in two instalments . . . and he still owes £75. 2 Ric. I. 12b. (M. 251.) [See No. 89.]
- 101.—Jacob, Jew, son of Samuel of Northampton, owes £500 for the debts and chattels of his father of which he ought to pay 120 marks, viz. 60 at Easter and 60 at Michaelmas. 2 Ric. I., Norhants.
- 102.—And in his [the Sheriff's] surplus which he has below in the account of the land of the men who fled for the assault on the Jews of York £59 . . . David de Popelton renders count of 20 marks for the Jews. 2 Ric. I., Everwiche. [The last entry is followed by 50 other names; the whole amount of fines 342 marks.]
- 103.—Of those who paid up for the aforesaid pleas [on the Jews] the same Sheriff renders count of fourscore and eleven marks and 10 shillings of the amerciamment of the men of York for the Jews, whose names and debts are noted in the Chancellor's roll which they paid into the Treasury. Paid in the Treasury by 58 tallies and is quita. 2 Ric. I., Everwiche.
- 104.—Avegay, Jewess of London, owes £62 3s. 4d. of the balance of 200 marks which she owed to our Lord the King's father of the tallage at Guildford of which she has to pay £20 per annum. 2 Ric. I. Everwiche.
- 105.—Josce son of Lia of Bristol renders count of one hundred shillings of the second thousand marks which the Jews of England promised our Lord the King. 3 Ric. I. (M. i. 233.) [cf. No. 43.]
- 105a.—And to Joseph and Roger, clerks of the King in the Exchequer of Aaron [of Lincoln] two marks and a half for a gift by King's writ. 3 Ric. I. 11b. Lond. and Midd. [See Nos. 27, 54.]
- 106.—Of the debts of Aaron. [Under this heading are enumerated in the rolls 3-5 Ric. I. Bucks 4 items, Wilts 3, Worcester and Warwick 21, Canteb 1. Becks 1, Norf. 19 and 16, Sussex 1, Oxford 7, Cumberland 6, Gloucester 2, York 80 (including 20 Jews), Hereford 5, Northampton 28, Hants. 7, Lond. and Middl. 40, Shropshire 3, Linc. 186, in all 430 debts amounting to about £1500.]
- 107.—Arrears of the Tallage of the Jews of London made at Guildford. 3 Ric. I., Lond. and Middl. [Follows a list of 38 names owing about £2860. Similar lists in this and following years occur for Essex 12 (£400), Sussex (£285), Kent 12 (£140).]
- 108.—Josce de Ebor owes 12½ marks for a silver vessel. 3 Ric. I., Everw. Of

- Aaron's debts. [But he was dead having been killed last by R. Yomtob at the York massacre. This debt must have been brought against his estate.]
- 109.—Robert de Hoesel owes 20 marks for his fine for the debts which his father owed to the Jews of York. 3 Ric. I., Everwich. [From this and other entries it is clear that the burning of the promissory notes in York Minster did not help the York Jews' debtors much. Cf. No. 12.]
- 110.—Margaret, who was the wife of Benedict son of Sarra, owes 20s. for having had her debt unjustly against Robert Williamson de Evlega. 3 Ric. I., Sudsex.
- 111.—Of the debts of Aaron. Deulebenie of Rising owes 100 marks on the surety of the Earl of Arundel. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. Benedict, Jew of Chichester, owes £100 on the surety of the Earl of Arundel. 1b. Sudsex. [This was one of the ways in which the King got a hold on the Barons by means of the Jews to whom they were indebted. Hence the clauses in Magna Charta against the transfer of Jews' debts to others.]
- 112.—Benedict, brother of Jurnet, owes £140 of the arrears of 10,000 marks. Ursell son of Brun 30s for the same. Sancto, Jew of St. Edmund's, owes 42s. for the aforesaid arrears. Samson of Bungay owes 100s. for the same. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. [This casual mention is the only reference I know of to a tallage of 10,000 marks which was probably in the time of Hen. II.]
- 113.—Deodatus, Jew, owes 6 marks and 8s. 10d. for a writ about 20 marks. Ursel son of Pulcella owes 5 marks because he did not give up to Ysaac his debt. Matathias the Jew owes half a mark because he has confessed what he previously denied. Sarra the Jew and her sons owe 23s. 3d. for having right to 5 marks and 3s. 3 Ric. I., Lincol. [Notice again the large proportion of the debt claimed by the King.]
- 114.—Ranulf de Glanville owes one mark because he confessed that he had received from Samuel, Jew of Northampton, who owed it for a concord between Margaret of London and their sons and daughter. But it should be required in Norff. 3 Ric. I., Norhant. [See No. 58.]
- 115.—The town of Ospringe owes 20 marks because it did not make hue and cry for a slain Jew. 3 Ric. I., Chent. [Was this during one of the riots at the same time as the York massacre? The town still owes the sum as late as 6 J.]
- 116.—Josce son of Leo of Warwick owes 100 marks for his fine and for having the debts and chattels of his father. 3 Ric. I., Winc. and Warw.
- 117.—Of the amerciements of the men of the city for the assault on the Jews. 3 Ric. I., Lincoln. [Follows a list of 80 names. It has hitherto been thought that the Jews of Lincoln escaped, but this entry would seem to show the contrary.]
- 118.—Jacob, Jew of Winton, owes £50 of the £100 which Ursell the husband of Drua his daughter gave Drua herself in dowry before she can have those £100. 3 Ric. I., Oscimf.
- 119.—Josce Crispin and the two daughters of Morell and their pledges owe 100s. for their share of the books of the said Morell. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. [This Morell was probably Samuel son of Solomon of Falaise who is known among the Tosafists or Glossators of the Talmud as "Sir Morell of England," cf. Steinschneider, *Cat. Lib. Heb. Bodl.*, No. 7068.]
- 120.—Judas the Bishop [levesq] owes 50s. of his receipts which he had received from the Christians of Lincoln. 3 Ric. I., Linc. [Doubtless as compensation for the riot. On "Bishop" see No. 31.]
- 121.—The sons of Benedict the Jew owe 700 marks to have the lands of their father and of his debts according to his charters. 3 Ric. I., Everw. [The duplicate charters had been burnt by the rioters in York Minster. Benedict had died in London after being forcibly converted. His sons desire to have his debts on the sole authority of the counterfoils in their possession without comparing them as usual with the originals.]
- 122.—Richard Malebyse owes £20 to have his forest rights as he had them in the time of Henry the King's father. 3 Ric. I., Everwic.
- 123.—Benedict son of Josce Quatrebuches owes 200 marks that he might have the charters and chattels of his father and an accord between him and Ysaac and Abraham sons of Rabbi, and that he might not (without special direction from the King) be impleaded for concealing his father's chattels. 4 Ric. I. 11 Lond. and Midd.

- 124.—Richard Malebyse renders count of 20 marks for having his land again till the advent of the King which had been seized in the hand of the King on account of the slaughter of the Jews at York, and that he and Walter de Carton and Richard de Kukeney, his squires, might have the King's peace till the advent of the King. 4 Ric. I. (M. 334). William de Percy, Knight and Picot, Roger de Ripun and Alan Malekuke owe 5 marks for the same. Ibid. [All these were connected together, see Stubbs' *Hoveden* iii. p. xlv. note. R. Malebyse was the ancestor of the Beckwithes and nephew of Agnes Percy.]
- 125.—Samuel and Israel sons of Abraham owe 500 marks for the fine which they made to have £500 of the debt of William de Guinx which he owed to Aaron for a charter and the charter was returned to them. 4 Ric. I., Lond.
- 126.—Leo, Jew of Worcester, owes 20 marks that he might be bailed out of the King's prison in which he was placed for a forcible entry into the hospital of Worcester. The same owes 10 marks for having his rights to £20 against the Abbot of Persora. 4 Ric. I., Wincest. [It is not clear whether the entry was a case of burglary properly so called or a case of enforcing an illegal claim. The former would probably have been more severely punished. Leo pays next year.]
- 127.—Vives son of Josce owes half a mark for a surety for the Jews of Cambridge. Vives brother of David renders count of 40s. for the same, Boncoie 10 marks for the same, David son of Cypora 5 marks for the same. 4 Ric. I., Canteb. [Cypora=Zippora. Many Jews are mentioned as the sons of their mother possibly because their father had been converted, but Cf. contra the case of Abraham son of Avigay whose father's name we know from No. 23.]
- 128.—Judas, Jew of Bristol, owes two ounces of gold for an inquisition made in a chapter of the Jews whether a Jew ought to take usury from a Jew. 4 Ric. I. [The chapter of the Jews was the *Beth Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal presided over by the three *Dayanim* or "Bishops." There could only be one reply in face of Deut. xxiii. 20, but this could be and was evaded by getting a Christian "man of straw" to act as intermediary. The Jew lent to the Christian, the Christian to the other, and took usury.]
- 129.—Of the debts of Aaron, Robert, Earl of Leicester, owes £452 6s. 8d. on Blenford and Kingston in Dorset, and Sepwich and Hakemot and Compton and Colingburn and Everley, Wikingston and Turmsdeston and Belgrave and Shep church and Androdesly and Normanton and Seldton. And £37 by another charter. 5 Ric. I. 8 Waur. [See Nos. 27, 50. By 3 Jo. it appears that he had paid off this £240 6s. 8d. to Aaron himself. By that date, 15 years after Aaron's death, 146 of his former debtors owed £4737 1s. 6d.]
- 130.—Benedict son of Isaac the Jew owes £100 and one mark of gold "de obol. Musce" or ten marks of silver for his fine for charters of Aaron bought from the Chancellor. 5 Ric. r. 3. m. 1. [Madox confesses his ignorance of what *Musce* means. It was better business for the King for other Jews to take up the debts of a Jew deceased as he could not charge interest and they could. While in the King's hands a Jew's debt lay dormant.]
- 131.—Mosse son of Abraham owes £24 6s. 8d. on his house. Deulecrease de Winton owes 34 marks on his house and lands. 5 Ric. I., Sudhants. [These were among Aaron of Lincoln's property.]
- 132.—Aaron brother of Leon of Dunstable owes 20s. for having right to 30s. against Hugh fil Yvon and for 20s. against Ric. fil Essvj and for 2 marks against Robert Blund. Mosse son of Mosse owes 20s. for a debt of 5 marks against Calford de Lega. Josce son of Mosse owes 4 shillings for 20s. against Gilbert Passelewe. 5 Ric. I., Bucks. and Berks. [Observe the large proportion of the debt claimed by the King nearly one-quarter on the average.]
- 133.—Aaron son of Samuel of Northampton owes 100s. because he denied what he said before. Vives son of Jacob owes 15 marks for the same. Hakelin son of Josce owes one mark for the same. 5 Ric. I., Norhant.
- 134.—Ursell of Gipeswich and Ysaac of Bedford and Seignure of St. Edmund render count of 50 marks for having custody of the chattels of Ysaac, Jew of St. Edmund, which are reckoned at £120 (who was killed at Thedford) for the benefit of the heir of the deceased. 5 Ric. I., Bucks and Berks.
- 135.—Richard Basset owes £22 for a fine made for all the debts which he owed

- to Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, on the day he was alive and dead. 5 Ric. I., Norhant.
- 136.—Of the debts of the Jews which they owed to the aforesaid Aaron [of Lincoln] see in the roll of the preceding year where the names of debtors and debts are noted of which this is the sum, viz. £396 4s. 8d. 5 Ric. I., Everw.
- 138.—The citizens of York render count of 10 marks for having their hostages who were at Northampton on account of the slaughter of the Jews. 5 Ric. I. [No one was punished, says William of Newbury. The hostages were therefore only a precaution against a fresh outbreak. But no Jews were living at York at this date as there is no contribution from York in a list of contributors to a Tallage of 5000 for this year preserved at the Record Office. Q. R. Misc., 556, No. 2.]
- 140.—The heirs of Mosse le Riche, Jew of Gloucester, owe 300 marks to have the debts of the aforesaid Mosse. 6 Ric. I., Glouc.
- 141.—Mosse son of Isaac owes half a mark because Jornet was not prosecuted. Jornet the Jew renders count of one mark for a false charge. Solomon son of Cresselin owes 3s. 4d. because Jornet was not prosecuted. . . . son of Master Moss renders count of 3s. 4d. for the same. 6 Ric. I., Sudhant. ["Master" probably means physician.]
- 142.—The citizens of Lincoln ought to reply about their amerciements which are demanded from them for assaults on the Jews according to what is contained on the roll of the preceding year. For which they have not responded because they have not yet come to the account to be paid thereon. 6 Ric. I., Linc.
- 143.—Benedict Pernaz, Jew of Lincoln, owes £12 for William of Olingchen of the aforesaid debt of Aaron which he has confessed in presence of the Barons he ought to pay for him. 6 Ric. I., Linc. [Pernaz=*Parnass* (Heb.) the name still used for the President of the Congregation.]
- 144.—Deulecresse son of Benjamin owes 50s. for Benedict son of Deudone which the same Benedict owes the King for the debts which he enacted from the said Deulecresse. 6 Ric. I., Oximf.
- 145.—Leo, Jew of Gloucester, owes 20 marks for that he was accused of being of the Society of Outlaws. 7 Ric. I., 13, Glouc. (M i. 229).
- 146.—Deulesalt, Jew, owes 60 marks that he may have respite till the coming of the King of the plea concerning the charter of Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, which the said Deulesalt was said to have concealed. 7 Ric. I., Lond. and Middl.
- 147.—Judas son of Duedone owes 20s. for having right to 40s. against Copin son of Besia. 8 Ric. I., Essex. [The King's share of a debt seems greater when Jew owes to Jew. Qy. because it was illegal according to Jewish law? Cf. No.]
- 148.—. . . Jew owes 3 ounces of gold for a stupid saying. 8 Ric. I., Nordf.
- 149.—Alexander the Abbot and the Convent of Melsa owe one mark that it may be inscribed on the Great Roll that it has been put on record by the Baron that they have produced a charter of Aaron the Jew of quittance of the debt of William Fossard which charter was released to the said William in presence of the Barons. And these are the words of the charter :
- "Know all men reading and hearing these letters that I, Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, by the attestation of this my charter have cried quits to William Fossard of all the debt which he or his father owed unto me ; and I testify that he is quit of the debt which he owed either to me or to Josce of York or to the remaining Jews mentioned, viz. Kersun, Elyas, Sanson, Ysaac Jew of Pulcella, or Pulcella herself, or Deulecresse of Denmark, up to the feast of St. Michael in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, MCLXXVI. This quit claim I have made him for MCLIX marks from which the monks of Melsa have acquitted him towards me. And it is to be known that I have handed over to him certain charters of this debt and if I have any others still in my possession I will hand them over as soon as possible."
- And that according to this record it was decided by the said Barons that nothing should be demanded from the said Abbot and Monks of the debt which is demanded from the aforesaid William out of the debts of Aaron, viz. £510 13s. 0d. 9 Ric. I., 4b Everw. (M i. 238). [This entry

- contains the earliest "Starr" known. The whole transaction is given in *Chron. de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond., i. 173.]
- 150.—Deulecresse and Judas his brother owe 40s. for bail for their mother. 9 Ric. I., Sudhants. [This is included among "Aaron's Debts:" why I know not.]
- 151.—Abraham, Jew of Winchester, owes 40 marks that he may be bailed out (replevied). 9 Ric. I., Sudhants.
- 152.—Abraham son of Aaron owes 3 ounces of gold for having his rights of 13 marks and 4s. against Elyas his brother. 9 Ric. I., Linc.
- 153.—Peter Blund, Jew of London, owes 40s. for having his rights against Rodulph son of Willeom of the debts of his father of 100s. and against Will. Puntiel the guardian of the land and heir of Roger of Crokeslea of a debt of the said Roger of £10. 9 Ric. I., London. [Peter Blund and his wife Miriam are mentioned in a document at St. Paul's as obtaining a quitrent of land at the corner of Fish Street. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IX. 22b.]
- 156.—Josce son of Isaac owes 2 marks for having his rights to £13 against Roger of the Dead Sea. Mosse of Cambridge owes 20s. for having right to a debt of £10 10s. Od. against Galfred de Caxton. 9 Ric. I., Lond. [The names of the Christian debtors are the interest here. Is the latter the first known Caxton ?]
- 157.—Ysaac, Jew, owes 1 mark for his oath. Sabcoe, Jew, renders count of 1 mark for his oath. 9 Ric. I., Hereford in Wales.
- 158.—... son of Isaac owes 3 ounces of gold to have his rights against the heirs of Benedict of Chichester and Yvelin of the mortgage of John of Tusgos. Alfeld who was [wife of] Isaac owes 5 marks for having right of 10 marks against Nichol son of Ysaac. Solomon, Jew of Arundel, owes 2 marks for right to £12 against John of Cumb. 9 Ric. I., Sudsex. [Alfeld seems a very Saxon name for a Jew's wife.]
- 159.—Tallage of burgesses and manors of the King. Joseph Aaron owes 7s. 4d. of the balance of £40 which he received from the Sheriff of Worcester on which he rendered count in the roll of the seventh year. 9 Ric. I., Glouc. [Joseph Aaron was afterwards one of the Justices of the Jews, see No. Here again we have a case of a Jew receiving the cash balance of the Sheriff's account. Cf. Nos. 11, 12, 30.]
- 160.—Abraham, Jew of Lincoln, son of Aaron, owes one ounce of gold to have a writ for justicing Tom son of Godwin and John his brother for a debt which they owe him. Jacob the old man of Lincoln owes 2 ounces of gold to have a record of the county of Lincoln on the appeal which Benedict of the Bail and Mosse his son made against him and his fellows in the same county. 9 Ric. I., Linc.
- 161.—Gentilia the Jewess, daughter of Samson, owes 4 ounces of gold to have an inquest whether her father died a Jew or a Christian and to have his charters. 9 Ric. I., Everwick. [Jews seem to be coming back to York. Or does the entry refer to the death of Samson at the York massacre when many Jews offered to be baptized ?]
- 162.—Benedict of Rising owes 20 marks to have a reasonable part of the chattels and debts of Benedict son of Josce Sorel. 9 Ric. I., Glouc. [The entry is repeated next year.]
- 163.—And Aaron the Jew of Lincoln owes 500 marks as is contained there. [roll 8.] But Benedict de Tallemunt answers for this in his accounts. 10 Ric. I., 12a. [Benedict was a justiciar of the Exchequer of the Jews.]
- 164.—Robert de Braibroe renders count of 10 marks of the ferm of Bitebroe. In the treasury nothing. And by payments to the said Robert 10 marks by King's writ because it was recorded by Simon de Pateshull and Benedict [Jew] of Tallemunt, Wardens of the Jews, that Richard, miles of Bitebroe, who had pledged the said land of Bitebroe to Samuel of Stanford, had made fine with the aforesaid Simon and Benedict in the past year by 15 marks (for which the said Benedict has to answer) that his account may be audited to see whether he be quit of his debt, namely of 50 marks for which he had pledged the said land to the Jew before-mentioned by means of money received from the aforesaid pledge from the time when it was pledged. And the account being made before the aforesaid and [two] others it was adjudged that the said Richard should be quit because, as the above-mentioned declared, more than the fifty marks had been received from the said pledge, that is from the time of

- King Henry up to the time of the said account, and as the said Richard was quits with the said pledge last year and the said Robert has not the said pledge this year and is thus quits. 10 Ric. I., 8 Roteland. [The debt must have fallen into the hands of the King in 1 Ric. I., by the death of Samuel (*vide supra*, No. 95). The same lands were pledged to Aaron of Lincoln for £10 at 2d a week interest, in 1179, see Brit. Mus. *Add MS.*, 24,510 f. 181. Aaron must have sold the debt to Samuel before his debt or it would have come into the King's hands. The justiciars of the Jewish Exchequer are the first mentioned; it appears, however, that there were two others, Henry de Winchester and Joseph Aaron the Jew (Madox, 745).]
- 165.—The Jews who are noted in the Roll of the preceding year under the title "Of the debts of Aaron found by the Chancellor" owe £136. 10 Ric. I., Norf.
- 166.—Jurnet, Jew of Norwich, and the other Jews who are noted in the Roll of the preceding year under the title "Offerings of the Jews of the time of King Henry," owe £4432 7s. 11d. for the reasons that are noted there. And besides Abraham son of Rabbi owes 4 horns of which the fourth equals the other three. But B. de Talemunt answers for this in his account. 10 Ric. I., Lond.
- 167.—Avigay the Jewess and other Jews who are noted under the title "Arrears of the tallage of the Jews of London and Guildford," owe £3122 7s. 2d. for the arrears that are noted in the preceding Roll. But B. de Talemunt answers for this in his account. The Jews that are noted under the title "Of the offerings of the Jews by Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury," owe £9 and 15 bezants as are noted in the preceding Roll. But B. de Talemunt answers thereon in his account. 10 Ric. I., Lond.
- 168.—Samuel of Bungay and other Jews that are noted in the preceding Roll owe £37 6s. 8d. 10 Ric. I., Nordf. and Suff. [Similarly Jews of Cambridge owe 19 marks, of Worcester 30 marks. These and the preceding entries are the beginning of a separation of accounts between the Great and the Jews' Exchequer. Benedict de Talemunt, a Jew, was one of the Justiciars or Wardens of the Jews and began this year to take over the Jewish debts from the Great Roll to a separate account.]
- 169.—And in guarding the bringing to Westminster of the moneys collected from the debtors of the Jews together with the Jews appointed for this by Benedict de Talemunt, 10s. by King's writ. 1 Job., Nordf.
- 170.—Thomas de Eton owes £40 and one palfrey worth 7 marks for the debts of Benedict and Josce Jews of York because it is an escheat of the King. 1 Jo., Everwick (*Add. MS.*, 4542). [These were the two Jews at the head of the York community, 1 Ric. I., cf. Will. of Newbury, *sub anno*. The King did not lose by the massacre but he did by the destruction of documents in the Cathedral afterwards. Some escaped destruction as Thomas of Eton finds here to his cost.]
- 171.—Jacob, Jew of Northampton, renders count of 300 marks to have his debt which the Abbot of Popewell owes him . . . But he answers in the roll of account of Benedict de Talemund. 1 Jo., Norhants. [Similarly Jews of Oxford, Kent, and Norfolk (sums of £1223 and £236 16s. from Aaron's debts) are transferred to Benedict's roll which would thus contain indebtedness amounting to the large sum of £9452 11s.]
- 172.—Elyas, Jew of Gloucester, renders count (and is quits) of 10 marks for one mark of gold to be quits of his appeal which Samuel son of Mosse de Riche and Vives son of Benedict and Hamnot Hoeth and John the convert have brought against him for the money of the aforesaid Mosse and for a certain carbuncle of his. 1 Jo., Glouc.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

Literature.

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OLD ENGLISH DRAMA, No. 5.—*The Lamentable and true tragedie of M. Arden of Faversham in Kent, who was most wickedlye murdered by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wyfe who for the loue she bore to one Mesbie hyred two desperat ruffins Blackwill and Shakbag to kull him, wherein is shewed the great mallice and discimulation of a wicked woman the vnsatiable desire of filthie lust and the shamefull end of all murderers.* Imprinted at London for Edward White, dwelling at the lyttle North dore of Paules Church, at the signe of the Gun. 1592. [Reprinted by A. H. Bullen, 1887.]

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